THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

VOL. II.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM

THE EARLIEST TIMES

TO

THE DEATH OF GEORGE II.

BY DR. GOLDSMITH.

VOLUME II.

THE EIGHTH EDITION, CORRECTED.

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1800.





CHAP. XVI.

HENRY IV.

NUMEROUS formalities are seldom used A. D. 1399.
but to cover distrust or injustice. Henry the Fourth, knowing the weakness of his title, was, at least, determined to give his coronation all possible solemnity, and to make religion a cloak to cover his usurpation. Accordingly, particular care was taken to procure a certain oil, said to have been presented by the Virgin Mary to Thomas à Becket, during his exile. The phial that contained this precious balm had fallen into the hands of a hermit, who gave it to the duke of Lancaster, assuring him that all kings an-

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ointed with that oil would become true champions of the church. On the present occasion, being seised by Henry among the other jewels of Richard, he was anointed with it in all the forms; at the same time declaring, that he had ascended the throne by the right of conquest, the resignation of Richard in his favour, and as the moſt direct descendant of Henry the Third, king of England. These were the formalities made use of to hide his ambition, or perhaps quiet his own fears; for the heir of the house of Mortimer, who had in the late reign been declared in parliament the true heir to the crown, was still alive, though but a boy of seven years of age. Him Henry detained, together with his younger brother, in an honourable custody, at Windsor castle.

But notwithstanding these precautions for his security, Henry soon found that the throne of an usurper is ever a bed of thorns. Such violent animosities broke out among the barons, in the firſt ſession of his parliament, that forty challenges were given and received, and forty gauntlets thrown down, as pledges of the sincerity of their resentment. But though these commotions were seemingly suppressed by his moderation for that time, yet they soon broke out into rebellion; and a conspiracy was set on foot for seising Henry at Windsor, and replacing Richard on the throne, who was supposed to be yet alive. This plot was set on foot by the earls of Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon, and lord Spenser, whom Henry had degraded from superior titles, conferred upon them by the late king. The particulars of their scheme were committed to writing, and each of the confederates had a copy signed by all the reſt. Among the number of these, the duke of Aumerle

was

was one, furnished with a paper, which he unfortunately dropt out of his bosom as he was sitting one day at dinner with his father, the duke of York. The father perceiving something fall, privately took it up, and to his great astonishment discovered the contents, which he resolved, with all diligence, to discover to the king, and accordingly rode off with the utmost expedition to Windsor, where the court resided at that juncture. In the mean time, the son, finding the sad mischance that had happened, and guessing the cause of his father's expedition, was resolved, if possible, to prevent his information; and hastening by a shorter way, discovered the whole to the king, and obtained the royal pardon before his father could arrive, who coming soon after, produced the paper with the names of the conspirators.

In the mean time, while Henry employed the most vigorous efforts to dispel the rising storm, the conspirators, finding their first intentions frustrated, dressed up one of the late king's servants, named Maudlin, in royal robes, giving out that he was the deposed monarch, whom they had taken from his prison, and were willing to replace on the throne. Pity is a passion for which the English have ever been remarkable; majesty in distress was an object sufficient at once to excite their loyalty and compassion; and they accordingly flocked in great numbers round the standard of the conspirators. Their army soon became considerable, and encamped near Cirencester, while the leaders took up their head-quarters within the city; yet so careless or inexperienced were they, that they neglected to place proper guards at the gates and the avenues

of the place. This was quickly perceived by the mayor of the town, who was in the interests of the king: this magistrate assembling four hundred men in the night, secured the gates, so as to exclude the army encamped without, and then he attacked the chiefs within. The earls of Kent and Salisbury were taken, after an obstinate resistance, and beheaded on the spot by the mayor's order. The earl of Huntingdon and lord Spenser escaped over the tops of the houses into the camp, in hopes of storming the town at the head of their forces; but they quickly had the mortification to find the tents and baggage abandoned by the soldiers, who, upon hearing the noise and tumult within, had concluded that a party of the king's army had entered privately to strengthen the townsmen; and under the conviction of this, they fled with the utmost precipitation.

The two lords perceiving that all hope was over, endeavoured to conceal themselves separately; but they were soon after taken, and lost their heads upon a scaffold, by the king's order. Their deaths were soon after followed by those of sir Thomas Blount, and sir Benedict Sely; and when the quarters of these unhappy men were brought to London, no less than eighteen bishops, and thirty-four mitred abbots, joined the populace, and met them with the most indecent marks of joy and exultation. In this shocking procession was seen the earl of Rutland carrying the head of lord Spenser, his brother-in-law, in triumph, after having betrayed him. This miscreant had been long inured to blood and treachery: he was instrumental in the murder of his uncle, the duke of Gloucester, to please Richard; he

he soon after deserted the fallen fortunes of that monarch, and joined with Henry; not long after, he entered into a conspiracy against this monarch, after having sworn allegiance to him; and now, at last, betrayed those very associates whom he had seduced into this enterprise, carrying in triumph the marks of his execrable villanies.

But the suppression of a single rebellion was not sufficient to give quiet to a kingdom threatened with foreign invasions, and torn by intestine discontents. The king of France had actually raised a vast armament to invade England; but a truce was soon after concluded for eight and twenty years; and it was agreed, that queen Isabel, who had been married to Richard, but whose marriage had never been consummated, should return to France, her native country. The Scots, shortly after, began to renew their ancient disturbances; and while the English army marched northward to oppose their incursions, the Welch, on the other side, under the conduct of Owen Glendour, attacked the kingdom upon the defenceless quarter. Many were the petty victories gained, and the ravages committed, on either part, in this contest. The name of Owen Glendour is respected among his countrymen to this very day; but as all his conquests procured no lasting advantage, and as all his victories only terminated in fame, they are scarce worth a place in the page of history. It will be sufficient to observe, that whatever honour the English lost on the side of Wales, they gained an equivalent on that of Scotland; the Welch maintained their ground, although their chieftain, Glendour, was taken prisoner, while the

Scots still fled before the English, and would neither submit, nor yet give them battle.

A. D. 1402. It was in a skirmish between the Scots and the English, that Archibald, earl of Douglas, with many of the Scottish nobility, were taken prisoners by the earl of Northumberland, and carried to Alnwick castle. This success was considered at first as of signal advantage; but it was soon attended with consequences that were fatal to the victors. When Henry received intelligence of this victory, he sent the earl orders not to ransom his prisoners, as he intended to detain them, in order to increase his demands in making peace with Scotland. This message was highly resented by the earl of Northumberland, who, by the laws of war that prevailed in that age, had a right to the ransom of all such as he had taken in battle. The command was still more irksome, as he considered the king as his debtor, both for security and his crown. Indeed, the obligations which Henry owed him were of a nature the most likely to produce ingratitude on the one side, and discontent on the other. The prince naturally became jealous of that power which had advanced him to the throne; and the subject thought himself entitled to every favour the crown had to bestow. Not that but Henry had already conferred the highest honours upon him; he had made him constable of the kingdom, and given him several other employments; but nothing could satisfy this nobleman's ambition, while the king had any thing left to give. Accordingly, stung with this supposed injury, he resolved to overturn a throne which he had the chief hand in establishing. A scheme was laid, in which the Scots and Welch were to unite their

their forces, and to assist Northumberland in elevating Mortimer, as the true heir to the crown of England. When all things were prepared for the intended insurrection, the earl had the mortification to find himself unable to lead on the troops, being seized with a sudden illness at Berwick. But the want of his presence was well supplied by his son Harry Percy, surnamed Hotspur, who took the command of the troops, and marched them towards Shrewsbury, in order to join his forces with those of Glendour, who, some time before, had been exchanged from prison, and had now advanced with his forces as far as Shropshire. Upon the junction of these two armies, they published a manifesto, which aggravated their real grievances, and invented more. In the mean time, Henry, who had received no intelligence of their designs, was at first greatly surprised at the news of this rebellion. But fortune seemed to befriend him on this occasion; he had a small army in readiness, which he had intended against the Scots; and knowing the importance of dispatch against such active enemies, he instantly hurried down to Shrewsbury, that he might give the rebels battle.

Upon the approach of the two armies, both sides seemed willing to give a colour to their cause, by showing a desire of reconciliation; but when they came to open their mutual demands, the treaty was turned into abuse and recrimination. On one side was objected rebellion and ingratitude; on the other, tyranny and usurpation. The two armies were pretty nearly equal, each consisting of about twelve thousand men; the animosity on both sides was inflamed

to the highest pitch; and no prudence nor military skill could determine on which side the victory might incline. Accordingly, a very bloody engagement ensued, in which the generals on both sides exerted themselves with great bravery. Henry was seen every where in the thickest of the fight; while his valiant son, who was afterwards the renowned conqueror of France, fought by his side, and, though wounded in the face by an arrow, still kept the field, and performed astonishing acts of valour. On the other side, the daring Hotspur supported that renown which he had acquired in so many bloody engagements, and every where sought out the king as a noble object of his indignation. At last, however, his death, from an unknown hand, decided the victory; and the fortune of Henry once more prevailed. On that bloody day, it is said that no less than two thousand three hundred gentlemen were slain, and about six thousand private men, of whom two thirds were of Hotspur's army.

While this furious transaction was going forward, Northumberland, who was lately recovered from his indisposition, was advancing with a body of troops to reinforce the army of the malcontents, and take upon him the command. But hearing by the way of his son's and his brother's misfortune, he dismissed his troops, not daring to take the field with so small a force, before an army superior in number, and flushed with recent victory. The earl for a while attempted to find safety by flight; but at last being pressed by his pursuers, and finding himself totally without resource, he chose rather to throw himself upon the king's mercy than lead a precarious and indigent

digent life in exile. Upon his appearing before Henry, at York, he pretended that his ſole intention in arming was to meditate between the two parties; and this, though but a very weak apology, ſeemed to ſatisfy the king. Northumberland therefore received a pardon; Henry probably thinking that he was ſufficiently puniſhed by the loss of his army, and the death of his favourite son.

But the extinction of one rebellion only seemed to give rise to another. The archbishop of York, who had been promoted during the late reign, entered into a confederacy with the earl of Nottingham, and the earl of Northumberland, who had been so lately pardoned, to dethrone the king, and set young Mortimer in his place. Had the forces of these insurgents cooperated with those that were so lately overthrown, it is possible they might have overpowered any body of men which the king could bring into the field; but they began their operations juſt when their confederates were defeated. This powerful combination, however, took the field, and published a manifesto, in which they reproached Henry with usurpation, tyranny, and murder; they required that the right line should be restored, and all grievances redressed. The earl of Westmoreland, who had been sent against them with a very inferior force, demanded a conference, to which they readily consented. The chiefs, on each side, met at Skipton, near York, and, in the presence of both armies, entered upon the subject of their grievances and complaints. The archbishop loudly deplored the nation's injuries and his own; the earl of Shrewsbury not only allowed the justice of his remonstrances,

strances, but begged of him to propose the remedies. The archbishop entered upon many stipulations, and the earl granted them all. He now therefore entreated, that since they had nothing more to ask or to fear, they would dismiss their forces, and trust to his honour for the rest. His specious promises, and plausible
A. D. 1405. manners, led them to their ruin. The insurgents immediately disbanded their troops, while he gave private orders that his own army should not disperse till farther notice; and thus having disqualified them for defence, instantly seizing upon the archbishop and the earl of Northampton, he carried them to the king. The form of a trial was a very unnecessary ceremony, to men whose fate was pre-determined; the archbishop of York was the first prelate who was capitally punished in England, the earl of Nottingham shared the same fate, and the earl of Northumberland found safety by flying into Scotland; but he was slain a year or two after, in an incursion, by sir Thomas Rokesby, sheriff of Yorkshire.

Such advantages seemed to promise the country, long torn with factions, and threatened with invasions, some degree of repose; but a new calamity now began to appear, which, though small in the beginning, became, in the course of ages, attended with most dreadful effects. Since Wickliffe had published his opinions, in the last reign, his doctrines met with so many partisans, that the clergy began to tremble for their influence over the minds of the people. They therefore used all their interest to bring the king over to their party; who had more than once, in former times, declared himself in favour of the new

new doctrines. But at present, as he was conscious of the weakness of his title to the crown, he was resolved to make use of every support to confirm his pretensions: and, among others, that offered him by the clergy was by no means to be thought slightly of. He seemed to listen with great earnestness to their complaints; and took an occasion to direct his parliament to attend to the conservation of the church, which he asserted was then in danger. How reluctant soever the house of commons might be to prosecute a sect, whose crime at any rate was but error, the credit of the court and the cabals of the clergy at last obtained an act for the burning obstinate heretics. This statute was no sooner past than the clergy resolved to show that it was not hung up as an empty terror, but that it would be urged with all the force of which it was capable. William Sawtre, a follower of Wickliffe, and rector of St. Osithe's, London, had been condemned by the convocation of Canterbury, and was soon after burned alive, by virtue of the king's writ, delivered to the lord-mayor of London. This was the first man that suffered death in England for the sake of religion; but the fires once kindled were not likely to be soon extinguished, as the clergy had the power of continuing the flame. They easily perceived, that a power of burning their enemies would revive that share of temporal power which they had possessed some centuries before; and in this they were not mistaken. They thus again renewed their pristine authority, but upon very different grounds; for as in the Saxon times they fixed their power upon the affections, so they now founded it upon the terrors of the people.

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By these means Henry seemed to surmount all his troubles; and the calm, which was thus produced, was employed by him in endeavours to acquire popularity, which he had lost by the severities exercised during the preceding part
A. D. 1407. of his reign. For that reason, he often permitted the house of commons to assume powers which had not been usually exercised by their predecessors. In the sixth year of his reign, when they voted him the supplies, they appointed treasurers of their own, to see the money disbursed for the purposes intended; and required them to deliver in their accounts to the house. They proposed thirty very important articles for the government of the king's household; and, on the whole, preserved their privileges and freedom more entire, during his reign, than that of any of his predecessors. But while the king thus laboured, not without success, to retrieve the reputation he had lost, his son Henry, prince of Wales, seemed equally bent on incurring the public aversion. He became notorious for all kinds of debauchery; and ever chose to be surrounded by a set of wretches, who took pride in committing the most illegal acts, with the prince at their head. The king was not a little mortified at this degeneracy in his eldest son, who seemed entirely forgetful of his station, although he had already exhibited repeated proofs of his valour, conduct, and generosity. Such were the excesses into which he ran, that one of his dissolute companions having been brought to trial before sir William Gascoigne, chief-justice of the king's bench, for some misdemeanor, the prince was so exasperated at the issue of the trial that he struck the judge in open court. The venerable

nerable magiſtrate, who knew the reverence that was due to his ſtation, behaved with a dignity that became his office, and immediately ordered the prince to be committed to priſon. When this tranſaction was reported to the king, who was an excellent judge of mankind, he could not help exclaiming in a transport: "Happy "is the king that has a magiſtrate endowed "with courage to execute the laws upon such "an offender; still more happy, in having a "son willing to submit to ſuch a chastisement." This, in fact, is one of the first great instances we read in the English history, of a magistrate doing justice in opposition to power; since, upon many former occasions, we find the judges only ministers of royal caprice.

Henry, whose health had for some time been declining, did not long out-live this transaction. He was subject to fits, which bereaved him, for the time, of his senses; and which, at last, brought on the near approach of death, at Westminster. As his constitution decayed, his fears of losing the crown redoubled even to a childish anxiety. He could not be persuaded to sleep, unless the royal diadem were laid upon his pillow. He resolved to take the cross, and fight the cause of the pilgrims to Jerusalem; and even imparted his designs to a great council, demanding their opinions relative to his intended journey: but his disorder increasing to a violent degree, he was obliged to lay aside his scheme, and to prepare for a journey of much greater importance. In this situation, as he was one day in a violent paroxysm, the prince of Wales took up the crown and carried it away; but the king soon after recovering his senses,

senses, and missing the crown, demanded what was become of it? Being informed that the prince of Wales had carried it off: "What!" said the king, "would he rob me of my right "before my death?" But the prince, just then entering the room, assured his father that he had no such motives in what he had done, went and, replaced the crown where he had found it, and, having received his father's blessing, dutifully retired. The king was taken with his last fit while he was at his devotions before the shrine of St. Edward the Confessor, in Westminster Abbey, and from thence he was carried to the Jerusalem Chamber. When he had recovered from his swoon, perceiving himself in a strange place, he desired to know where he was, and if the apartment had any particular name: being informed that it was called the Jerusalem Chamber, he said, that he then perceived a prophecy was fulfilled, which declared that he should die in Jerusalem. Thus saying, and recommending his soul to his Maker, he soon after expired, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign.

If we consider this monarch on one side of his character, he will appear an object worthy the highest applause; if on the other, of our warmest indignation. As a man, he was valiant, prudent, cool, and sagacious. These virtues adorned him in his private character; nor did his vices appear till ambition brought him within sight of a throne: it was then that he was discovered to be unjust, cruel, gloomy, and tyrannical; and though his reign contributed much to the happiness of his subjects, yet it was entirely

entirely destructive of his own. He was twice married: by his first wife, Mary de Bohun, he had four sons,—Henry, his successor; Thomas, duke of Clarence; John, duke of Bedford; Humphry, duke of Gloucester: and two daughters. By his second wife he had no issue.





CHAP. XVII.

HENRY V.

A.D. 1413. THE death of Henry IV. gave the people but very little concern, as he had always governed them rather by their fears than their affections. But the rejoicings made for the succession of his son, notwithstanding his extravagancies, were manifest and sincere. In the very height and madness of the revel, he would often give instances of the noblest disposition; and, though he did not practise the virtues of temperance, he always ſhowed that he esteemed them. But it was his courage which, in that martial age, chiefly won the people's affection and applause.

Courage

Courage and superstition then made up the whole system of human duty; nor had the age any other idea of heroism, but what was the result of this combination.

The first steps taken by the young king confirmed all those prepossessions entertained in his favour. He called together his former companions, acquainted them with his intended reformation; exhorted them to follow his example; and thus dismissed them from his presence, allowing them a competency to subsist upon, till he saw them worthy of higher promotion. The faithful ministers of his father, at first, indeed, began to tremble for their former justice in the administration of their duty; but he soon eased them of their fears, by taking them into his friendship and confidence. Sir William Gascoigne, who thought himself the moſt obnoxious, met with praises instead of reproaches, and was exhorted to persevere in the same rigorous and impartial execution of justice.

But Henry did not stop here; he showed himself willing to correct, not only his own private errors, but those of the former reign. He expressed the deepest sorrow for the fate of the unhappy Richard, and ordered his funeral obsequies to be performed with royal solemnity. He seemed ambitious to bury all party distinctions in oblivion; the good men of either party were only dear to him; and the bad vainly alleged their loyalty as an extenuation of their vices. The exhortations, as well as the example of the prince, gave encouragement to virtue; all parties were equally attached to so just a prince, and the defects of his title were forgot, amidst the luſtre of his admirable qualities.

In this manner, the people seemed happy in their new king; but it is not in the power of man to raise himself entirely above the prejudices of the age in which he lives, or to correct those abuses which often employ the sagacity of whole centuries to discover. The vices of the clergy had drawn upon them the contempt and detestation of the people; but they were resolved to continue their ancient power, not by reforming themselves, but by persecuting those who opposed them. The heresy of Wickliffe, or Lollardism, as it was called, began to spread every day more and more, while it received a new lustre from the protection and preaching of Sir John Oldcastle, baron of Cobham, who had been one of the king's domestics, and stood high in his favour. His character, both for civil and military excellence, pointed him out to Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, as the proper victim of ecclesiastical vengeance; and he applied to the king for permission to indict lord Cobham, as a miscreant guilty of the most atrocious heresy. But the generous nature of the prince was averse to such sanguinary methods of conversion; and he resolved first to try what effects the arts of reason and persuasion would produce upon this bold leader of his sect. He accordingly desired a private conference with lord Cobham; but he found that nobleman obstinate in his opinions, and determined rather to part with life than what he believed upon conviction. The king finding him immoveable, gave him up to the fury of his enemies. Persecution ever propagates those errors which it aims at abolishing. The primate indicted lord Cobham; and, with the assistance of his suffragans, condemned him,

as

as an heretic, to be burnt alive. Cobham, however, escaping from the Tower, in which he was confined, the day before his execution, privately went among his party; and stimulating their zeal, led them up to London, to take a signal revenge of his enemies. But the king, apprised of his intentions, ordered that the city gates should be shut; and coming by night with his guards into St. Giles's Fields, seised such of the conspirators as appeared, and afterwards laid hold of several parties that were hastening to the appointed place. Some of these were executed, but the greater number pardoned. Cobham himself found means of escaping for that time; but he was taken about four years after; and never did the cruelty of man invent, or crimes draw down, such torments as he was made to endure. He was hung up with a chain by the middle; and thus at a slow fire burned, or rather roasted, alive.

Such spectacles as these must naturally excite the disgust of the people, not only against the clergy, but the government itself. Henry, to turn their minds from such hideous scenes, resolved to take the advantage of the troubles in which France was at that time engaged, and pursue the advice of his dying father, who gave it as his last instructions, that he should employ his subjects in foreign expeditions, and thus give all the restless spirits occupation for their inquietude. Charles the Fifth, who was then king of France, was subject to frequent fits of lunacy, which totally disqualified him from reigning. During the paroxysms of his disease, the ambition of his vassals and courtiers had room for exertion; and they grew powerful from their

sovereign's weakness. The administration of affairs was disputed between his brother Lewis, duke of Orleans, and his cousin-german, John, duke of Burgundy. Isabella, his queen, also had her party; and the king vainly attempted to secure one also in his favour. Each of these, as they happened to prevail, branded their captives with the name of traitors; and the gibbets were at once hung with the bodies of the accused and the accusers. This, therefore, was thought by Henry a favourable opportunity to recover from France those grants that had been formerly given up by treaty. But previously, to give his intended expedition the appearance of justice, he sent over embassadors to Paris, offering a perpetual peace and alliance, on condition of being put in possession of all those provinces which had been ravished from the English during the former reign, and of espousing Catharine, the French king's daughter, in marriage, with a suitable dowry. Though the French court was at that time extremely averse to war, yet the exorbitance of these demands could not be complied with; and Henry very probably made them in hopes of a denial. He assembled a great fleet and army at Southampton; and having allured all the military men of the kingdom to attend him, from the hopes of conquest, he put to sea, and landed at Harfleur, at the head of an army of six thousand men at arms, and twenty-four thousand foot, mostly archers.

His first operations were upon Harfleur, which, being pressed hard, promised at a certain day to surrender, unless relieved before that time. The day arriving, and the garrison, unmindful of their engagement, still resolving to defend the

place,

place, Henry ordered an assault to be made, took the town by storm, and put all the garrison to the sword. From thence the victor advanced farther into the country, which had been already rendered desolate by factions, and which he now totally laid waste. Although the enemy made but a feeble resistance, yet the climate seemed to fight againſt the English,—a contagious dysentery carrying off three parts of Henry's army. In such a situation he had recourse to an expedient common enough in that barbarous age, to inspire his troops with confidence in their general. He challenged the dauphin, who commanded in the French army, to single combat, offering to stake his pretensions on the event. This challenge, as might naturally be expected, was rejected; and the French, though disagreeing internally, at last seemed to unite, at the appearance of the common danger. A numerous army of fourteen thousand men at arms, and forty thousand foot, was by this time assembled, under the command of count Albret; and was now placed to intercept Henry's weakened forces on their return. The English monarch, when it was too late, began to repent of his rash inroad into a country, where disease, and a powerful army, every where threatened destruction; he therefore began to think of retiring into Calais. In this retreat, which was at once both painful and dangerous, Henry took every precaution to inspire his troops with patience and perseverance; and showed them in his own person the brightest example of fortitude and resignation. He was continually harassed on his march by flying parties of the enemy; and whenever he attempted to

pass the river Somme, over which his march lay, he saw troops, on the other side, ready to oppose his passage. However, he was so fortunate as to seise by surprise a passage near St. Quintin, which had not been sufficiently guarded: and there he safely carried over his army.

But the enemy was still resolved to intercept his retreat; and, after he had passed the small river of Tertois at Blangi, he was surprised to observe from the heights the whole French army drawn up in the plains of Azincourt, and so posted, that it was impossible for him to proceed on his march, without coming to an engagement. No situation could be more unfavourable than that in which he then found himself. His army was wasted with disease, the soldiers spirits worn down with fatigue, destitute of provisions, and discouraged by their retreat. Their whole body amounted but to nine thousand men; and these were to sustain the shock of an enemy near ten times their number, headed by expert generals, and plentifully supplied with provisions. This disparity, as it depressed the English, so it raised the courage of the French in proportion; and so confident were they of success, that they began to treat for the ransom of their prisoners. Henry, on the other hand, though sensible of his extreme danger, did not omit any circumstance that could assist his situation. As the enemy were so much superior, he drew up his army on a narrow ground between two woods, which guarded each flank; and he patiently expected, in that position, the attack of the enemy. The constable of France was at the head of one army; and Henry himself, with Edward duke of York, com-

commanded the other. For a time both armies, as if afraid to begin, kept silently gazing at each other, neither being willing to break their ranks by making the onset; which Henry perceiving, with a cheerful countenance cried out, "My "friends, since they will not begin, it is ours to "set them the example: Come on! and the "Blessed Trinity be our protection." Upon this, the whole army set forward with a shout, while the French still continued to wait their approach with intrepidity. The English archers, who had long been famous for their great skill, first let fly a shower of arrows three feet long, which did great execution. The French cavalry advancing to repel these, two hundred bow-men, who lay till then concealed, rising on a sudden, let fly among them, and produced such a confusion, that the archers threw by their arrows, and rushing in, fell upon them sword in hand. The French at first repulsed the assailants, who were enfeebled by disease; but they soon made up the defect by their valour; and, resolving to conquer or die, burst in upon the enemy with such impetuosity, that the French were soon obliged to give way.

In the mean time a body of English horse, which had been concealed in a neighbouring wood, rushing out, flanked the French infantry, and a general disorder began to ensue. The first line of the enemy being routed, the second line marched up to interrupt the progress of the victory. Henry, therefore, alighted from his horse, presented himself to the enemy with an undaunted countenance; and at the head of his men fought on foot, encouraging some, and assisting others. Eighteen French cavaliers, who were

resolved to kill him, or die in the attempt, rushing from the ranks together, advanced, and one of them stunned the king with a blow of his battle-axe. They then fell upon him in a body; and he was upon the point of sinking under their blows, when David Gam, a valiant Welchman, aided by two of his countrymen, came up to the king's assistance, and soon turned the attention of the assailants from the king to themselves, till at length, being overpowered, they fell dead at his feet. Henry had by this time recovered his senses; and fresh troops advancing to his relief, the eighteen French cavaliers were slain: upon which he knighted the Welchmen, who had so valiantly fallen in his defence. The heat of the engagement still increasing, Henry's courage seemed also to increase, and the most dangerous situation was where he fought in person: his brother, who was stunned by a blow, fell at his feet; and while the king was piously endeavouring to succour him, he received another blow himself, which threw him upon his knees. But he soon recovered; and leading on his troops with fresh ardour, they ran headlong upon the enemy; and put them into such disorder, that their leaders could never after bring them to the charge. The duke of Alençon, who commanded the second line, seeing it fly, resolved, by one desperate stroke, to retrieve the fortune of the day, or fall in the attempt. Wherefore running up to Henry, and at the same time crying aloud that he was the duke of Alençon, he discharged such a blow on his head, that it carried off part of the king's helmet; while, in the mean time, Henry, not having been able to ward off the blow, returned it by striking the duke to the ground,

ground, and he was soon killed by the surrounding crowd, all the king's efforts to save him proving ineffectual. In this manner, the French were overthrown in every part of the field; their number, being crowded into a very narrow space, were incapable of either flying or making any resistance; so that they covered the ground with heaps of slain. After all appearance of opposition was over, the English had leisure to make prisoners; and having advanced with uninterrupted success to the open plain, they there saw the remains of the French rear-guard, which still maintained a ſhow of opposition. At the same time was heard an alarm from behind, which proceeded from a number of peasants who had fallen upon the English baggage, and were putting those who guarded it to the sword. Henry, now seeing the enemy on all sides of him, began to entertain apprehensions from his prisoners, the number of whom exceeded even that of his army. He thought it necessary, therefore, to issue general orders for putting them to death; but ön the discovery of the certainty of his victory, he stopped the slaughter, and was still able to save a great number. This severity tarnished the glory which his victory would otherwise have acquired: but all the heroism of that age is tinctured with barbarity.

This battle was very fatal to France, from the number of princes and nobility slain or taken prisoners. Among the number of the slain was the constable of France, the two brothers to the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Alençon, the duke of Barre, and the count de Morle. Among the prisoners were the duke of Orleans, the duke of Bourbon, with several others of inferior quality.

lity. An archbishop of Sens also perished fighting in this battle. The killed are computed on the whole to have amounted to ten thousand men; and as the loss fell chiefly upon the cavalry, it is pretended, that of these eight thousand were gentlemen. The number of prisoners are computed at fourteen thousand. All the English who were slain did not exceed forty, a number amazingly inconsiderable, if we compare the loss with the victory.

A.D. 1415. Oct. 25. This victory, how great soever it might have been, was attended with no immediate effects. Henry did not interrupt his retreat a moment after the battle of Azincourt, but carried his prisoners to Calais, and from thence to England, where the parliament, dazzled with the splendor of his late victories, granted him new supplies, though unequal to the expenses of a campaign. With these supplies, and new levies, he

A.D. 1417. once more landed an army of twenty-five thousand men in Normandy, and prepared to strike a decisive blow for the crown of France, to which the English monarchs had long made pretensions. That wretched country was now in a most deplorable situation. The whole kingdom appeared as one vast theatre of crimes, murders, injustice, and devastation. The duke of Orleans was assassinated by the duke of Burgundy; and the duke of Burgundy, in his turn, fell by the treachery of the dauphin. At the same time, the duke's son, desirous of revenging his father's death, entered into a secret treaty with the English; and a league was immediately concluded at Arras, between Henry and the young duke of Burgundy, in which the king promised to revenge the murder of the late duke: and the son

seemed

seemed to insist upon no further stipulations. Henry, therefore, proceeded in his conquests, without much opposition from any quarter. Several towns and provinces submitted on his approach; the city of Rouen was besieged and taken; Pontoise and Gisors he soon became master of. He even threatened Paris by the terror of his power, and obliged the court to move to Troye. It was at this city that the duke of Burgundy, who had taken upon him the protection of the French king, met Henry, in order to ratify that treaty, which was formerly begun, and by which the crown of France was to be transferred to a stranger. The imbecillity into which Charles had fallen, made him passive in this remarkable treaty: and Henry dictated the terms throughout the whole negotiation. The principal articles of this treaty were, that Henry should espouse the princess Catharine; that king Charles should enjoy the title and dignity of king for life; but that Henry should be declared heir to the crown, and should be intrusted with the present administration of the government; that France and England should for ever be united under one king, but should still retain their respective laws and privileges; that Henry should unite his arms with those of king Charles and the duke of Burgundy, to depress and subdue the dauphin and his partisans. Such was the tenor of a treaty, too repugnant to the real interests of both kingdoms to be of long duration; but the contending parties were too much blinded by their resentments and jealousies to see that it is not in the power of princes to barter kingdoms, contrary to the real interests of the community.

It was not long after this treaty, that Henry married the princess Catharine; after which he carried his father-in-law to Paris, and took a formal possession of that capital. There he obtained, from the estates of the kingdom, a ratification of the late compact; and then turned his arms, with success, against the adherents of the dauphin, who, in the mean time, wandered about a stranger in his own patrimony, and to his enemies successes only opposed fruitless expostulations.

Henry's supplies were not provided in such plenty as to enable him to carry on the war without returning in person to prevail upon his parliament for fresh succours; and upon his arrival in England, though he found his subjects highly pleased with the splendor of his conquests, yet they seemed somewhat doubtful as to the advantage of them. A treaty which in its consequences was likely to transfer the seat of the empire from England was not much relished by the parliament. They, therefore, upon various pretences, refused him a supply equal to his exigencies or his demands; but he was resolved on pursuing his schemes; and joining to the supplies granted at home the contributions levied on the conquered provinces, he was able once more to assemble an army of twenty-eight thousand men, and with these he landed safely at Calais.

In the mean time the dauphin, a prince of great prudence and activity, omitted no opportunity of repairing his ruined situation, and to take the advantage of Henry's absence from France. He prevailed upon the regent of Scotland to send him a body of eight thousand men from that kingdom;

kingdom; and with these and some few forces of his own, he attacked the duke of Clarence, who commanded the troops in Henry's absence, and gained a complete victory.

This was the first action which turned the tide of success against the English. But it was of short duration, for Henry soon after appearing with a considerable army, the dauphin fled at his approach; while many of the places which held out for the dauphin, in the neighbourhood of Paris, surrendered to the conqueror. In this manner, while Henry was every where victorious, he fixed his residence at Paris; and while Charles had but a small court, he was attended with a very magnificent one. On Whitsunday the two kings A.D. 1421. and their two queens, with crowns on their heads, dined together in public; Charles receiving apparent homage, but Henry commanding with absolute authority.

In the mean time, the dauphin was chased beyond the Loire, and almoſt totally dispossessed of all the northern provinces. He was even pursued into the south, by the united arms of the English and Burgundians, and threatened with total destruction. In this exigence, he found it necessary to spin out the war, and to evade all hazardous actions with a rival who had been long accustomed to victory. His prudence was every where remarkable; and, after a train of long persecutions from Fortune, he found her at length willing to declare in his favour, by ridding him of an antagonist that was likely to become a master.

Henry, at a time when his glory had nearly reached its summit, and both crowns were juſt devolved upon him, was seised with a fistula; a dis-

disorder which, from the unskilfulness of the physicians of the times, soon became mortal. Perceiving his distemper incurable, and that his end was approaching, he sent for his brother the duke of Bedford, the earl of Warwick, and a few other noblemen, whom he had honoured with his confidence; and to them he delivered, in great tranquillity, his last will with regard to the government of his kingdom and family. He recommended his son to their protection; and though he regretted the being unable to accomplish the great object of his ambition, in totally subduing France, yet he expressed great indifference at the approach of death; he devoutly waited its arrival, and expired with the same intrepidity with which he had lived, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the tenth year of his reign.

This prince possessed many virtues, but his military successes gave him credit for more than he really possessed. It is certain, however, that he had the talent of attaching his friends by affability, and of gaining his enemies by address and clemency. Yet his reign was rather splendid than profitable; the treasures of the nation were lavished on conquests, that, even though they could have been maintained, would have proved injurious to the nation. Nevertheless he died fortunate, by falling in the midst of his triumphs, and leaving his subjects in the very height of his reputation. Charles, who died two months after him, finished a wretched reign, long passed in frenzy and contempt, despised by his friends, insulted by his allies, and leaving the most miserable subjects upon earth.

Henry

Henry left by his queen, Catharine of France, only one son, not full nine months old, who succeeded him on the throne; and whose misfortunes, during the course of a long reign, surpassed all the glories and successes of his father.

The English triumphs, at this time, in France, produced scarce any good effects at home: as they grew warlike they became savage, and, panting after foreign possessions, forgot the arts of cultivating those that lay nearer home. Our language, instead of improving, was more neglected than before; Langland and Chaucer had begun to polish it, and enrich it with new and elegant constructions; but it now was seen to relapse into its former rudeness, and no poet or historian of note was born in this tempestuous period.

CHAP.



CHAP. XVIII.

HENRY VI.

HENRY VI. successor to Henry V. was not quite a year old when he came to the throne; and his relations began, soon after, to dispute the administration of government during his minority. The duke of Bedford, one of the most accomplished princes of the age, and equally experienced, both in the cabinet and the field, was
A.D.1422. appointed, by parliament, protector of England, defender of the church, and first counsellor to the king. His brother, the duke of Gloucester, was fixed upon to govern in his absence, while he conducted the war in France; and, in order to

to limit the power of both brothers, a council was named, without whose advice and approbation no measure of importance could be carried into execution.

Things being adjusted in this manner, as the conduct of military operations was at that time considered in a much superior light to civil employments at home, the duke of Bedford fixed his station in France, to prosecute the successes of the English in that part of their dominions, and to repress the attempts of Charles VII. who succeeded his father to a nominal throne. Nothing could be more deplorable than the situation of that monarch on assuming his title to the crown. The English were masters of almost all A.D. 1423. France; and Henry VI. though yet but an infant, was solemnly invested with regal power by legates from Paris. The duke of Bedford was at the head of a numerous army, in the heart of the kingdom, ready to oppose every insurrection; while the duke of Burgundy, who had entered into a firm confederacy with him, still remained stedfast, and seconded his claims. Yet, notwithstanding these unfavourable appearances, Charles (who, though yet but twenty, united the prudence of age with the affability of youth) found means to break the leagues formed against him, and to bring back his subjects to their natural interests and their duty.

However, his first attempts were totally destitute of success; wherever he endeavoured to face the enemy, he was overthrown; and he could scarcely rely on the friends next his person. His authority was insulted even by his own servants; advantage after advantage was gained against him; and a battle fought near Verneuil, in which he

was totally defeated by the duke of Bedford, seemed to render his affairs wholly desperate. However, from the impossibility of the English keeping the field without new supplies, Bedford was obliged to retire into England, and in the mean time his vigilant enemy began to recover from his late consternation. Dunois, one of his generals, at the head of a thousand men, compelled the earl of Warwick to raise the siege of Montargis; and this advantage, slight as it was, began to make the French suppose that the English were not invincible.

But they soon had still greater reason to triumph in their change of fortune, and a new revolution was produced by means apparently the most unlikely to be attended with success. The assistance of a female, of the humblest birth and meanest education, served to turn the tide of victory in their favour, and impress their enemies with those terrors, which had hitherto rendered them unequal in the field. By this feeble aid, the vanquished became the victors; and the English, every where worsted, were at length totally expelled the kingdom.

In the village of Domremi, near Vaucouleurs, on the borders of Lorraine, there lived a country girl, about twenty-seven years of age, called Joan of Arc. This girl had been a servant at a small inn; and in that humble station had submitted to those hardy employments which fit the body for the fatigues of war. She was of an irreproachable life, and had hitherto testified none of those enterprising qualities which displayed themselves soon after. She contentedly fulfilled the duties of her situation, and was remarkable only for her modesty, and love of religion.

ligion. But the miseries of her country seemed to have been one of the greatest objects of her compassion and regard. Her king expelled his native throne, her country laid in blood, and strangers executing unnumbered rapines before her eyes, were sufficient to excite her resentment, and to warm her heart with a desire of redress. Her mind, enflamed by these objects, and brooding with melancholy stedfastness upon them, began to feel several impulses, which she was willing to mistake for the inspirations of heaven. Convinced of the reality of her own admonitions, she had recourse to one Baudricourt, governor of Vaucouleurs, and informed him of her destination by heaven, to free her native country from its fierce invaders. Baudricourt treated her at first with some neglect; but her importunities at length prevailed; and, willing to make a trial of her pretensions, he gave her some attendants, who conducted her to the French court, which at that time resided at Chinon.

The French court were probably sensible of the weakness of her pretensions; but they were willing to make use of every artifice to support their declining fortunes. It was therefore given out, that Joan was actually inspired; that she was able to discover the king among the number of his courtiers, although he had laid aside all the distinctions of his authority; that she had told him such secrets, which were only known to himself; and that she had demanded, and minutely described, a sword in the church of St. Catharine de Fierbois, which she had never seen. In this manner the minds of the vulgar being prepared for her appearance, she was armed cap-à-pee, mounted on a charger, and

shown in that martial dress to the people. She was then brought before the doctors of the university; and they, tinctured with the credulity of the times, or willing to second the imposture, declared that she had actually received her commission from above.

When the preparations for her mission were completely blasoned, their next aim was to send her against the enemy. The English were at that time besieging the city of Orleans, the last resource of Charles, and every thing promised them a speedy surrender. Joan undertook to raise the siege; and, to render herself still more remarkable, girded herself with the miraculous sword, of which she had before such extraordinary notices. Thus equipped, she ordered all the soldiers to confess themselves before they set out; she displayed in her hand a consecrated banner, and assured the troops of certain success. Such confidence on her side soon raised the spirits of the French army; and even the English, who pretended to despise her efforts, felt themselves secretly influenced with the terrors of her mission. A supply of provisions was to be conveyed into the town; Joan, at the head of some French troops, covered the embarkation, and entered Orleans at the head of the convoy, which she had safely protected. While she was leading her troops along, a dead silence and astonishment reigned among the English; and they regarded with religious awe that temerity, which they thought nothing but supernatural assistance could inspire. But they were soon roused from their state of amazement by a sally from the town; Joan led on the besieged, bearing the sacred standard in her hand, encouraging them with

with her words and actions, bringing them up to the trenches, and overpowering the besiegers in their own redoubts. In the attack of one of the forts, she was wounded in the neck with an arrow; but instantly pulling out the weapon with her own hands, and getting the wound quickly dressed, she hastened back to head the troops, and to plant her victorious banner on the ramparts of the enemy. These successes continuing, the English found that it was impossible to resist troops animated by such superior energy; and Suffolk, who conducted the attack, thinking that it might prove extremely dangerous to remain any longer in the presence of such a courageous and victorious enemy, raised the siege, and retreated with all imaginable precaution.

From being attacked, the French now in turn became the aggressors. Charles formed a body of six thousand men, and sent them to besiege Jergeau, whither the English, commanded by the earl of Suffolk, had retired, with a detachment of his army. The city was taken; Suffolk yielded himself a prisoner; and Joan marched into the place in triumph, at the head of the army. A battle was soon after fought near Patay, where the English were worsted as before; and the generals Scales and Talbot were taken prisoners.

The raising of the siege of Orleans was one part of the Maid's promise to the king of France; the crowning him at Rheims was the other. She now declared that it was time to complete that ceremony; and Charles, in pursuance of her advice, set out for Rheims, at the head of twelve thousand men. The towns through which he passed opened their gates to receive him; and

Rheims sent him a deputation, with its keys, upon his approach. The ceremony of his coronation was there performed with the utmost solemnity; and the Maid of Orleans (for so she was now called), seeing the completion of her mission, desired leave to retire, alleging that she had now accomplished the end of her calling. But her services had been so great, that the king could not think of parting; he pressed her to stay so earnestly, that she at length complied with his request.

A tide of successes followed the performance of this solemnity; Laon, Soissons, Chateau-Thierri, Provins, and many other towns and fortresses in that neighbourhood, submitted to him on the first summons. On the other hand the English, discomfited and dispirited, fled on every quarter, unknowing whether to ascribe their misfortunes to the power of sorcery, or to a celestial influence; but equally terrified at either. They now found themselves deprived of the conquests they had gained, in the same manner as the French had formerly submitted to their power. Their own divisions, both abroad and at home, unfitted them entirely for carrying on the war; and the duke of Bedford, notwithstanding all his prudence, saw himself divested of his strong holds in the country, without being able to stop the enemy's progress. In order, therefore, to revive the declining state of his affairs, he resolved to have Henry crowned king at Paris, knowing that the natives would be allured to obedience by the splendour of the ce-
A D. 1430. remony. Henry was accordingly crowned, all the vassals that still continued under the English power swearing fealty and homage. But it was now

now too late for the ceremonies of a coronation to give a turn to the affairs of the English; the generality of the kingdom had declared against them, and the remainder only waited a convenient opportunity to follow the example.

An accident ensued soon after, which, though it promised to promote the English cause in France, in the end served to render it odious, and conduced to the total evacuation of that country. The duke of Burgundy, at the head of a powerful army, had laid siege to Compiegne; and the Maid of Orleans had thrown herself into the place, contrary to the wishes of the governor, who did not desire the company of one whose authority would be greater than his own. The garrison, however, were rejoiced at her appearance, and believed themselves invincible under her protection. But their joy was of short duration; for Joan having, the day after her arrival, headed a sally, and twice driven the enemy from their entrenchments, she was at last obliged to retire, placing herself in the rear, to protect the retreat of her forces. But in the end, attempting to follow her troops into the city, she found the gates shut, and the bridge drawn up, by order of the governor, who is said to have long wished for an opportunity of delivering her up to the enemy.

Nothing could exceed the joy of the besiegers, in having taken a person who had been so long a terror to their arms. The service of Te Deum was publicly celebrated on this occasion; and it was hoped that the capture of this extraordinary person would restore the English to their former victories and successes. The duke of Bedford was no sooner informed of her being taken, than

he purchased her of the count Vendome, who had made her his prisoner, and ordered her to be committed to close confinement. The credulity of both nations was at that time so great, that nothing was too absurd to gain belief, that coincided with their passions. As Joan but a little before, from her successes, was regarded as a saint, she was now, upon her captivity, considered as a sorceress, forsaken by the dæmon who had granted her a fallacious and temporary assistance. Accordingly it was resolved in council to send her to Rouen to be tried for witchcraft; and the bishop of Beauvais, a man wholly devoted to the English interest, presented a petition against her for that purpose. The university of Paris was so mean as to join in the same request. Several prelates, among whom the cardinal of Winchester was the only Englishman, were appointed as her judges. They held their court in Rouen, where Henry then resided; and the Maid, clothed in her former military apparel, but loaded with irons, was produced before this tribunal. Her behaviour there no way disgraced her former gallantry; she betrayed neither weakness, nor womanish submission; but appealed to God and the pope for the truth of her former revelations. In the issue, she was found guilty of heresy and witchcraft, and sentenced to be burnt alive, the common punishment for such offences.

But, previous to the infliction of this dreadful sentence upon her, they were resolved to make her abjure her former errors; and at length so far prevailed upon her, by terror and rigorous treatment, that her spirits were entirely broken by the hardships she was obliged to suffer. Her former

former visionary dreams began to vanish, and a gloomy distrust to take place of her late inspirations. She publicly declared herself willing to recant, and promised never more to give way to the vain delusions which had hitherto misled her, and imposed on the people. This was what her oppressors desired; and, willing to show some appearance of mercy, they changed her sentence into perpetual imprisonment, and to be fed during life on bread and water. But the rage of her enemies was not yet satiated. Perfectly satisfied of her guilt, they were willing to know if her reformation was equally certain. Suspecting that the female dress, which she had consented to wear, was disagreeable to her, they purposely placed in her apartment a suit of men's apparel, and watched for the effect of their temptation upon her. Their cruel artifice prevailed. Joan, struck with the sight of a dress in which she had gained so much glory, immediately threw off her penitent's robes, and put on the forbidden garment. Her enemies caught her equipped in this manner; and her imprudence was considered as a relapse into her former transgressions. No recantation would suffice, and no pardon would be granted to her. She was condemned to be burnt alive in the market-place of Rouen; and this infamous sentence was accordingly executed upon her.

Superstition adds virulence to the natural cruelty of mankind; and this cruel sentence served only to inflame the hatred between the contending powers, without mending the cause of the invaders. One of the first misfortunes which the English felt after this punishment, was the defection of the duke of Burgundy, who had for some

some time seen the error of his conduct, and wished to break an unnatural connection, that only served to involve his country in ruin. A treaty was therefore begun, and concluded, between him and Charles, in which the latter made all the atonements possible for his offence; and the former agreed to assist him in driving the English out of France. This was a mortal blow to their cause; and such were its effects upon the populace in London, when they were informed of it, that they killed several of the duke of Burgundy's subjects, who happened to be among them at that time. It might perhaps also have hastened the duke of Bedford's death, who died at Rouen a few days after the treaty was concluded; and the earl of Cambridge was appointed his successor to the regency of France.

From this period the English affairs became totally irretrievable. The city of Paris returned once more to the sense of its duty. Lord Willoughby, who commanded it for the English, was contented to stipulate for the safe retreat of his troops to Normandy. Thus ground was continually, though slowly, gained by the French; and, notwithstanding their fields were laid waste, and their towns depopulated, yet they found protection from the weakness and divisions of the English. At length, both parties began to grow weary of a war, which, though carried on but feebly, was yet a burthen greater than either could support. But the terms of peace insisted upon by both were so wide of each other, that no hopes of an accommodation could quickly be expected. A truce, therefore, for twenty-two months, was concluded, which left every thing on the present footing between the parties.

No

No sooner was this agreed upon, than Charles employed himself with great industry and judgment in repairing those numberless ills to which his kingdom, from the continuance of wars both foreign and domestic, had so long been exposed. He established discipline among his troops, and justice among his governors. He revived agriculture, and repressed faction. Thus being prepared once more for taking the field, he took the first favourable occasion of breaking the truce; and Normandy was at the same time invaded by four powerful armies, one commanded by Charles himself, a second by the duke of Bretagne, a third by the duke of Alençon, and a fourth by the count Dunois. Every place opened their gates almost as soon as the French appeared before them. Rouen was the only town that promised to hold out a siege; but the inhabitants clamoured so loud for a surrender, that the duke of Somerset, who commanded the garrison, was obliged to capitulate. The battle, or rather the skirmish of Fourmingi, was the last stand which the English made in defence of their French dominions. However, they were put to the rout, and above a thousand were slain. All Normandy and Guienne, that had so long acknowledged subjection to England, were lost in the space of a year; and the English at length saw themselves entirely dispossessed of a country, which for above three centuries they had considered as annexed to their native dominions. Calais alone remained of all their conquests; and this was but a small compensation for the blood and treasure which had been lavished in that country, and only served to gratify ambition with a transient applause. A.D. 1443.

It

It may easily be supposed, that the bad successes in France, which began almost with young Henry's reign, produced dissensions and factions among the rulers at home. The duke of Gloucester, who had been appointed regent of England during his brother's absence, was not so secure in his place but that he had many who envied his situation. Among the number of these was Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, great uncle to the king, and the legitimate son of John of Gaunt. This prelate, to whom the care of the king's person and education had been intrusted, was a man of great capacity and experience, but of an intriguing and dangerous disposition. As he aspired to the government of affairs, he had continual disputes with the duke of Gloucester, and gained frequent advantages over the open temper of that prince. It was in vain that the duke of Bedford employed all his own authority, and that of parliament, to reconcile them; their mutual animosities served for several years to embarrass government, and to give its enemies every advantage. The sentiments of these two leaders of their party were particularly divided with regard to France. The cardinal encouraged every proposal of accommodation with that country; the duke of Gloucester was for maintaining the honour of the English arms, and winning back all that had been lost by defeats or delay. In this contest, the powers seemed nearly divided; and it became incumbent on one side to call in new auxiliaries, before either party could turn the political scale. For this purpose, the cardinal was resolved to strengthen himself, by procuring a suitable match for Henry, who was now twenty-three years old; and

and then, by bringing the new-made queen over to his interests, to turn the balance in his favour. Accordingly, the earl of Suffolk, a nobleman whom he knew to be stedfast in his attachments, was sent over to France, apparently to settle the terms of the truce, which had been then begun; but, in reality, to procure a suitable match for the king. The duke of Gloucester had before proposed a daughter of the count Armagnac, but had not influence sufficient to prevail. The cardinal and his friends had cast their eye on Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Regnier, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem, but without either real power or possessions. This princess was considered as the most accomplished of the age, both in mind and person; and, it was thought, would, by her own abilities, be able to supply the defects of her consort, who already appeared weak, timid, and superstitious. The treaty was hastened on by Suffolk, and the marriage soon after ratified in England.

The cardinal now strengthened by this new alliance (for the queen came immediately into his measures), the duke of Gloucester soon found himself possessed of only the shadow of power without the substance; all his measures were over-ruled by his powerful antagonist; and he daily found himself insulted in the most cruel manner. One of the principal steps his enemies took to render him odious, was to accuse his wife, the duchess, of witchcraft. She was charged with conversing with one Roger Bolingbroke, a priest, and reputed necromancer, and also one Mary Gurdemain, who was said to be a witch. It is asserted that these three in conjunction had made a figure of the king in wax, which was placed

placed before a gentle fire; and as the wax dissolved, the king's strength was expected to waste; and upon its total dissolution, his life was to be at an end. This accusation was readily attended to in that credulous age; and the more it departed from reason, the fitter it was for becoming an object of belief. The prisoners were pronounced guilty; neither the rank of the duchess, nor the innocence of the accused, could protect them; she was condemned to do penance, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment; Bolingbroke, the priest, was hanged, and the woman was burnt in Smithfield.

But this was only the beginning of the duke's distresses. The cardinal of Winchester was resolved to drive his resentment to the utmost extreme, and accordingly procured a parliament to be summoned, not at London, which was too well affected to the duke, but at St. Edmundsbury, where his adherents were sufficiently numerous to over-awe every opponent. As soon as he appeared, he was accused of treason, and thrown into prison; and on the day on which he was to make his defence, he was found dead in his bed, though without any signs of violence upon his body.

The death of the duke of Gloucester was universally ascribed to the cardinal of Winchester, who himself died six weeks after, testifying the utmost remorse for the bloody scene he had acted. What share the queen had in the guilt of this transaction, is uncertain; her usual activity and spirit made the public conclude, with some reason, that the duke's enemies durst not have ventured on such a deed without her privity. Henry did not fail to share in the general disgust that

that was thus produced; and as he wanted abilities, he never had the art to remove any suspicion. From this time discontent began to prevail among the people, and faction among the great. A weak prince seated on the throne of England, however gentle and innocent, seldom fails of having his authority despised, and his power insulted. The incapacity of Henry began every day to appear in a fuller light; and the foreign war being now extinguished, the people began to prepare for the horrors of intestine strife. In this period of calamity, a new interest was revived, which had lain dormant in the times of prosperity and triumph.

It was now that the English were to pay the severe though late penalty for having unjustly deposed Richard the Second; another Richard, who was duke of York, beginning to think of preferring his claims to the crown. This nobleman was descended, by the mother's side, from Lionel, one of the sons of Edward the Third; whereas the reigning king was descended from John of Gaunt, a son of the same monarch, but younger than Lionel. Richard, therefore, stood plainly in succession before Henry; and he began to think the weakness and unpopularity of the present reign a favourable moment for ambition. The ensign of Richard was a white rose, that of Henry a red; and this gave name to the two factions whose animosity was now about to drench the kingdom with blood.

The cardinal of Winchester being dead, the duke of Suffolk, who had a hand in Gloucester's assassination, took the lead in public affairs; and being secretly aided by the interest of the queen, managed all with uncontroulable authority.

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As this nobleman had made his way to power by murder, so he was resolved to maintain himself in it by the usual resources of bad men, by tyranny over his inferiors, and flattery to the queen. His conduct soon excited the jealousy or the hatred of the whole kingdom. The great nobility could ill brook the exaltation of a subject above them, who was of a birth inferior to their own. The people complained of his arbitrary
A.D. 1450. measures, and the immense acquisitions which he had made in office; and the blame of every odious and unsuccessful measure was instantly given to him. Suffolk was not ignorant of the hatred of the people; but supposed that his crimes were such as could not be proved against him, or that, if proved, he could readily evade punishment: he endeavoured, therefore, to overawe his enemies, by boldly presenting himself to the charge; and he called upon them to show an instance of his guilt. This was what the House of Commons had long wished for; and they immediately opened their charge against him, of corruption, tyranny, and treason. He was accused of being the cause of the loss of France; of persuading the French king, with an armed force, to invade England; and of betraying in office the secrets of his department. This accusation might have been false; but the real motive, which was Suffolk's power and the cruel use he made of it, was left unmentioned, although it was true. It was no easy matter for any one man's strength, how great soever, to withstand the united resentment of a nation; so that the court was obliged to give up its favourite; and the king, to shield him as much as possible from popular resentment,

ment, banished him from the kingdom for five years. This was considered by some as an escape from justice; the captain of a vessel was therefore employed by his enemies to intercept him in his passage to France; he was seized near Dover, his head was struck off on the side of a long-boat, and his body thrown into the sea. There is little in the transactions of these times to interest us on the side of either party; we see scarce any thing but crimes on both sides, without one shining character, or one virtue to animate the narrative.

By the death of the duke of Suffolk, Richard of York saw himself rid of a potent enemy, and was pleased to see the discontents of the nation daily increase. Among the number of complaints which the unpopularity of the government gave rise to, there were some which even excited insurrection; particularly that headed by John Cade, which was of the most dangerous nature. This man was a native of Ireland, who had been obliged to fly over into France for his crimes; but seeing the people upon his return prepared for violent measures, he assumed the name of Mortimer, and, at the head of twenty thousand Kentish-men, advanced towards the capital, and encamped at Blackheath. The king, being informed of this commotion, sent a message to demand the cause of their assembling in arms; and Cade, in the name of the community, answered, that their only aim was to punish evil ministers, and procure a redress of grievances for the people. The king's council deeming these demands seditious, a body of fifteen thousand men were levied to oppose the insurgents; while Henry himself marched at their head towards Blackheath. At his approach Cade re-

tired, as if he had been afraid of an engagement, and lay in ambuſh in a wood, not doubting that he ſhould be purſued by the king's whole army; but the king was content with ſending a detachment after the fugitives, and returning himſelf to London. This was what Cade desired to see; and, ſallying out from his ambuscade, he cut the detachment in pieces.

The citizens of London ſoon after opened their gates to the victor; and Cade for some time maintained great order and discipline among his followers. He always led them out into the field during the night-time; and published severe edicts againſt plunder, and violence of every kind.

Next day, being informed that the treasurer, lord Say, was in the city, he caused him to be apprehended and beheaded, without any form of trial; and in the evening returned to the Borough of Southwark. Thus for some days he continued the practice of entering the city in the morning, and quitting it at night; but at length, being unable to keep his followers within bounds, the citizens resolved to shut their gates against him. Cade endeavouring to force his way, an engagement ensued between him and the citizens, which lasted all day, and was not discontinued until night put an end to the engagement. The archbishop of Canterbury, and the chancellor, who had taken refuge in the Tower, being informed of the situation of affairs, found means to draw up the same night an act of amnesty, which was privately dispersed among the rebels. This had the desired effect. Cade saw himself in the morning abandoned by most of his followers, and, retreating to Rochester, was obliged

liged to fly alone into the Wolds of Kent, where, a price being set upon his head by proclamation, he was discovered and slain by one Alexander Eden, who, in recompense for this service, was made governor of Dover-castle.

In the mean time, the duke of York secretly fomented these disturbances; and, pretending to espouse the cause of the people, wrote to the king, advising a reformation in the ministry; and the house of commons was brought over to second his request. An address was presented against the duke of Somerset, the duchess of Suffolk, the bishop of Chester, sir John Tufton, and lord Dudley, praying the king to remove them from ever from his person and councils, and to prohibit them from approaching within twelve miles of the court. Though the king was willing enough to oppose so violent and arbitrary an attack upon his favourites, yet he endeavoured to soften the general animosity against them, by promising to banish a part of the obnoxious ministry from court for the space of a year.

But partial concessions in government are generally bad palliatives. The duke of York, who found the people entirely attached to him, resolved to avail himself of his power; and raising a body of ten thousand men, marched towards London, demanding a reformation of the government, and the removal of the duke of Somerset from all his power and authority. He had hopes from the beginning that the citizens would have thrown open the gates to him; but was much mortified, when he found that he was refused admission. Upon his retreat into Kent, a parley ensued between the king and him, in which the duke still insisted on the dismission of

Somerset, with which the king seemed at length willing to comply. The duke of York was, therefore, persuaded to pay his respects to the king in his tent; but, on repeating his charge against the duke of Somerset, he was surprised to see that minister step from behind the curtain, and offer to justify his innocence. York now perceived his danger, and repressed the impetuosity of his accusation. As soon as he left the presence, the king commanded him to be apprehended; but such was this nobleman's authority, or such the timidity of the king's council, that they suffered him to retire to his seat at Wigmore, upon promising strict obedience for the future.

A reconciliation thus extorted could be of no long duration. York still secretly aspired to the crown; and though he wished nothing so ardently, yet he was for some time prevented by his own scruples from seizing it. What his intrigues failed to bring about, accident produced to his desire. The king falling into a distemper, which so far increased his natural imbecillity that it even rendered him incapable of maintaining the appearance of royalty, York was appointed lieutenant and protector of the kingdom, with powers to hold and open parliament at pleasure. This was a fatal blow to the house of Lancaster: all the adherents of that party were dismissed from court, and the duke of Somerset was sent to the Tower.

York being thus invested with a plenitude of power, continued in the enjoyment of it for
A. D. 1454. some time; but at length the unhappy king recovered from his lethargic complaint; and, as if awaking from a dream, perceived, with surprise,

prise, that he was stripped of all his authority. Margaret, his queen, also did all in her power to rouse him to a sense of his unworthy situation, and prevailed upon him to remove the duke of York from his power; in consequence of which that nobleman had instant recourse to arms. The impotent monarch, thus obliged to take the field, was dragged after his army to St. Alban's, where both sides came to an engagement, in which the Yorkists gained a complete victory, and the duke of Somerset was slain. The king himself being wounded, and taking shelter in a cottage near the field of battle, was taken prisoner, and treated by the victor with great respect and tenderness. From thence he was, shortly after, led along in triumph to London; and the duke of York permitting him still to enjoy the name of king, reserved to himself the title of protector, in which consisted all the real power of the crown.

Henry was now but a prisoner treated with the splendid forms of royalty; yet, indolent and sickly, he seemed pleased with his situation, and did not regret that power which was not to be exercised without fatigue. But it was otherwise with Margaret, his queen. She, naturally bold, active, and endued with masculine courage, could not be content with the appearance of that authority which her enemies alone permitted her to exercise; she continued to excite the wretched monarch to a vindication of his regal dignity, and to spur him on to independence. He was, therefore, once more induced to assert his prerogative; and the duke of York was obliged to retire, to be in readiness to oppose any designs against his liberty and life. At first a negotia-

tion for peace was entered upon by both parties; but their mutual distrusts soon brought them into the field, and the fate of the kingdom was given up to be determined by the sword. Their armies met at Bloreheath, on the borders of Staffordshire, and the Yorkists gained some advantages. But when a more general action was about to ensue, the night before the intended engagement, sir Andrew Trollop, who commanded a body of veterans for the duke of York, deserted with all his men to the king; and this so intimidated the whole army of the Yorkists, that they separated the next day, without striking a single blow. The duke of York fled to Ireland; the earl of Warwick, one of his boldest and ablest supporters, escaped to Calais, with the government of which he had been intrusted during the late protectorship; and all the party, thus suppressed, concealed their intentions for a more favourable opportunity. Nor was this opportunity long wanting; Warwick having met with some successes at sea, landed in Kent, and being there joined by some other barons, he marched up to London, amidst the acclamations of the people. The city immediately opened its gates to him; and his troops increasing on every day's march, he soon found himself in a condition to face the royal army, which hastened from Coventry to attack him. Never was there a more formidable division of interests, or greater inveteracy between the chiefs of either party, than the present. Warwick was one of the most celebrated generals of his age, formed for times of trouble, extremely artful, and incontestably brave, equally skilful in council and the field, and inspired with a degree of hatred against

Sept. 23. 1459.

against the queen, that nothing could suppress. On the other side, the queen seemed the only acting general: she ranged the army in battalia, and gave the necessary orders, while the poor king was brought forward, an involuntary spectator of those martial preparations. Both armies met on a plain near Northampton; the queen's forces amounting to about five and twenty thousand men, the earl of Warwick's to near double that number. While the queen went about from rank to rank, the king remained in his tent, awaiting the issue of the combat, with female doubts and apprehensions. The battle continued for five hours, with the utmost obstinacy; but at length the good fortune and the numbers of Warwick were seen to prevail. The queen's army was overthrown; and she had the misfortune to see the king once more made a prisoner, and brought back to his capital in triumph.

The cause of the Yorkists being thus confirmed by the strongest arguments, those of power, a parliament was called to give it their more formal sanction. The duke of York, whose prospects began to widen as he rose, from being contented with the protectorship, now began to claim the crown. It was now, for the first time, that the house of lords seemed to enjoy an unbiassed deliberative authority; the cause of Henry and the duke of York was solemnly debated, each side producing their reasons without fear or control. This was the first time that a spirit of true rational liberty ever appeared to exert itself in England, and in which recent conquest did not supersede all deliberation. The duke of York, though a conqueror, could not entirely

gain his cause: it was determined that Henry should possess the throne during his life; and that the duke of York should be appointed his successor, to the utter exclusion of the prince of Wales, who, yet but a child, was insensible of the injury that was done him.

The queen, to all appearance, now seemed utterly destitute of every resource; her armies were routed, her husband taken prisoner, and the parliament disclaimed her cause; yet though she had lost all, she still retained her native intrepidity and perseverance. She was a woman of a great mind and some faults, but ambition seemed to be the leading passion in all her conduct. Though a fugitive, distant from the capital, opposed by a victorious army, and a consummate general, she still tried every resource to repair her disastrous circumstances. She flew to Wales; there endeavoured to animate her old friends, and to acquire new. The nobility of the North, who regarded themselves as the most warlike of the kingdom, were moved with indignation to find the Southern barons dispose of the crown, and settle the government. They began to consider the royal cause as unjustly oppressed; and the queen soon found herself at the head of an army of twenty thousand men, ready to second her pretensions. She and her old enemy, the duke of York, once more met upon Wakefield Green, near the castle of Sandel; and victory, on this occasion, declared itself in favour of the queen. The duke of York was killed in the action; and as his body was found among the slain, his head was cut off by Margaret's orders, and fixed on the gates of York, with a paper crown, in derision of his pretended title.

Dec. 2, 1460.

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His son, the earl of Rutland, a youth of seventeen, was taken prisoner and killed in cold blood, by lord Clifford, in revenge for his father's death, who had fallen in the battle of St. Alban's.

Margaret, being victorious, marched towards London, in order to give the king liberty; but the earl of Warwick, who now put himself at the head of the Yorkists, commanded an army, in which he led about the captive king, to give a sanction to his attempts. Upon the approach of the Lancastrians, he conducted his forces, strengthened by a body of Londoners, who were very affectionate to his cause, and gave battle to the queen at St. Alban's. While the armies were warmly engaged, lord Lovelace, who commanded a considerable body of Yorkists, treacherously withdrew from the combat; and this decided the victory in favour of the queen. Above two thousand of the Yorkists perished in the battle, and the person of the king again fell into the hands of his own party,—to be treated with apparent respect, but real contempt. Lord Bonville, to whose care he had been intrusted, staid with him after the defeat, upon an assurance of pardon; but Margaret, regardless of her husband's promise, immediately ordered his head to be struck off.

It only now remained that the city of London should declare in the queen's favour: but Warwick had previously secured it in his interests; and the citizens, who dreaded her tumultuous army, refused to open their gates to her summons. In the mean time young Edward, the eldest son of the late duke of York, began to repair the losses his party had lately sustained, and to give spirit to the Yorkists. This prince

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in the bloom of youth, remarkable for the beauty of his person, his bravery, and popular deportment, advanced towards London with the remainder of Warwick's army, and obliging Mar-
A.D. 1461. garet to retire, entered the city amidſt the acclamations of the people. Perceiving his own popularity, he supposed that now was the time to lay his claim to the crown; and his friend Warwick, assembling the citizens in St. John's Fields, pronounced an harangue, setting forth the title of Edward, and inveighing against the tyranny and usurpation of the house of Lancaster. He then demanded whether they chose Henry for their king; to which the people crying, "a York! a York!" he quickly called an assembly of lords and biſhops at Baynard's Caſtle, and these ratified their choice. The young duke was proclaimed king, by the title of Edward IV. and then conducted, with great ceremony, to the palace where Henry used to lodge when within the walls of the city.

But the miseries of a civil war were not yet completed, and Margaret was resolved to strike another blow. Upon her retiring to the North, great numbers flocked to her standard, and ſhe was able, in a few days, to aſſemble an army of sixty thousand men in Yorkshire. On the other side, the earl of Warwick conducted young Edward at the head of forty thousand men to oppose her. Both sides at length met near Towton, in the county of York, to decide the fate of empire, and never was England depopulated by so terrible an engagement. It was a dreadful sight to behold a hundred thousand men of the same country engaged against each other; and all to satisfy the empty ambition of the weakest, or the

the worst of mankind. While the army of Edward was advancing to the charge, there happened a great fall of snow, which driving full in the faces of the enemy, blinded them; and this advantage, seconded by an impetuous onset, decided the victory in their favour. Edward issued orders to give no quarter; and a bloody slaughter ensued, in which near forty thousand of the Lancastrians were slain. Edward entered York victorious; and taking down the heads of his father, and the earl of Salisbury, that were placed over the city gates, put up that of the earl of Devonshire in their stead.

In the mean time, Margaret hearing the fate of her army, and being sensible that no place in England could now afford her protection, she fled with Henry and her son to Scotland. But no calamity was able to repress her perseverance; though so often overcome, yet she was resolved once more to enter England with five thousand men granted her by the French king; and the unfortunate Henry was led onward, by his presence to enforce her claims. But even here her former ill fortune attended her; and her little fleet was dispersed by a tempest, while she herself escaped with some difficulty, by entering the mouth of the Tweed. Soon after, a defeat, which her few forces suffered at Hexham, seemed to render her cause desperate; and the cruelty which was practised upon all her adherents rendered it still more dangerous.

The loss of this battle appeared to deprive her of every resource; she and her husband were obliged to seek for safety in a separate flight, without attendants, and without even the necessaries of life. The weak unfortunate king, always

ways imprudent, and always unsuccessful, thought he could remain concealed in England; but his error was soon attended with the obvious consequences, being taken prisoner, carried to London with ignominy, and confined in the Tower. Margaret was rather more fortunate. She flying with her son into a forest, where she endeavoured to conceal herself, was set upon during the darkness of the night by robbers, who, either ignorant or regardless of her quality, despoiled her of her rings and jewels, and treated her with the utmost indignity. But she found more respectful treatment from one of those lawless men, who, knowing her station, resolved to procure her safety at the hazard of his own; and at last conducted her to the sea-coast, whence she made her escape to her father in Flanders, who, though very poor, strove as well as he could to supply her with the necessaries of life. To the same court the dukes of Somerset and Exeter retired; and they, literally speaking, felt all the miseries of want. Philip de Comines, the French historian, says, he saw the duke of Exeter following the duke of Burgundy's equipage bare-footed, and serving for his livelihood as a footman. This was a strange situation for a lord, who had conducted armies, and was allied to kings and princes; but those enjoyments, which served to distinguish the great from the little, were not so apparent then as at present.

Edward being now, by means of the earl of Warwick, fixed upon the throne, reigned in peace and security, while his title was recognised by parliament, and universally submitted to
A.D. 1464. by the people. He began, therefore, to give a loose to his favourite passions; and a spirit of gallantry,

gallantry, mixed with cruelty, was seen to prevail in his court. In the very same palace which one day exhibited a spectacle of horror was to be seen the day following a masque or a pageant; and the king would at once gallant a mistress and inspect an execution. In order to turn him from these pursuits, which were calculated to render him unpopular, the earl of Warwick advised him to marry; and, with his consent, went over to France to procure Bona of Savoy as queen; and the match was accordingly concluded. But whilst the earl was hastening the negotiation in France, the king himself rendered it abortive at home, by marrying Elizabeth Woodville, with whom he had fallen in love, and whom he had vainly endeavoured to debauch. Having thus given Warwick real cause of offence, he was resolved to widen the breach, by driving him from the council. Every incident tended to increase the jealousy between the king and this powerful subject; the favour shown the queen's party, and the contempt which was thrown upon the earl, manifested an open rupture. Warwick, whose prudence was equal to his bravery, soon made use of both to assist his revenge; he seduced the duke of Clarence, brother to the king; and, to confirm that nobleman in his interests, gave him his daughter in marriage. Thus an extensive and dangerous combination was formed against Edward and his ministry; and an accident that followed soon after contributed to fan the flame. The inhabitants about St. Leonard's hospital, in Yorkshire, complained that the duties levied for that institution, which were originally allotted for pious uses, were now secreted by the managers; and

and they refused to contribute their part. They soon after rose in a body to oppose the ecclesiastical severities that were levelled against them by the earl of Pembroke. It is thought that the earl of Warwick had some hand in fomenting these disorders; and although this rebellion was quieted by a pardon from Edward, yet some others, that broke out shortly after, appeared favourable to Warwick's designs. Vengeance seemed to be the only motive this nobleman had in view; and that he pursued with unabating assiduity. Plots, treasons, stratagems, and negotiations, followed each other in rapid succession; but at last fortune seemed to favour Warwick's aims; and the king, as we are told, fell into his power, by accepting an invitation, which the earl gave him, in order to betray him. Be this as it may, Edward had soon the good fortune to see himself at the head of a numerous army, and in a condition to take satisfaction for the treachery of his powerful opponent. Resolving, therefore, to take advantage of the enemies' weakness, after having defeated a party commanded by lord Wells, and cut off his head, he marched to give them battle. In this exigence, Warwick, and the duke of Clarence, had no other resource but to quit the kingdom; and embarking for Calais, they seized upon some Flemish vessels, which they found lying along that coast, with which they entered one of the ports of France. Here they entered into an union with Margaret, which was dictated by necessity; both sides being willing to forget their mutual animosity, in order to second their revenge. Lewis, the king of France, prepared a fleet to escort them; and seizing the opportunity, they landed at Dartmouth with

with a small body of troops, while Edward was in the North suppressing an insurrection which had lately appeared there. Nothing can be more extraordinary than the success of Warwick upon this occasion. The spirit of discontent with which many were infected, and the general instability of the English nation, conspired with his ambition; and in less than six days such multitudes flocked to his standard, that he saw himself at the head of an army of threescore thousand men.

It was now become Edward's turn to fly the kingdom. He had just time to escape an attempt made upon his person in the night, by the marquis of Montague; and to embark on board a small fleet, which lay off Lynn in Norfolk. Nor were his dangers lessened at sea, where he was chased by some ships belonging to the Hanse-towns, who were then at war with both France and England. But at length he landed safely in Holland, where he received a cool reception from the duke of Burgundy, with whom had some time before entered into an alliance.

In the mean time Warwick, with his resistless A. D. 1470.
army, advanced to London; and once more the poor passive king Henry was released from prison, to be placed upon a dangerous throne. A parliament was called, which confirmed Henry's title with great solemnity; and Warwick was himself received among the people under the title of the King-maker. All the attainders of the Lancastrians were reversed; and every one was restored, who had lost either honours or fortune by his former adherence to Henry's cause. All the considerable Yorkists either fled to the continent,

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or took shelter in sanctuaries, where the ecclesiastical privileges afforded them protection.

But Edward's party, though repressed, was not destroyed. Though an exile in Holland, he had many partisans at home; and, after an absence of nine months, being seconded by a small body of forces, granted him by the duke of Burgundy, he made a descent at Ravenspur in Yorkshire. Though at first he was coolly received by the English, yet his army increased upon its march, while his moderation and feigned humility still added to the number of his partisans. London, at that time ever ready to admit the most powerful, opened her gates to him; and the wretched Henry was once more plucked from his throne, to be sent back to his former mansion.

Thus Warwick began to experience the instability of fortune, and find his party declining; but what gave the most dreadful blow to his hopes, was the defection of his son-in-law, the duke of Clarence, who went over to Edward, and threw all his weight into the opposite scale. Nothing now remained to Warwick, but to cut short a state of anxious suspense by hazarding a battle; and though he knew his forces to be inferior to those of Edward, yet he placed his greatest dependence upon his own generalship. With this resolution he marched from St. Alban's, where he was stationed, and advancing towards Barnet, within ten miles of London, there resolved to wait for Edward, who was not slow in marching down to oppose him. Warwick and Edward were at that time considered as the two most renowned generals of the age; and now was to be struck the decisive blow that was either to fix Edward on the throne, or to overthrow his pre-

pretensions for ever. The unfortunate Henry also was dragged along to be a spectator of the engagement; happy in his natural imbecillity, which seemed as a balm to sooth all his afflictions.

The battle began early in the morning, and lasted till noon; for never did two armies fight with greater obstinacy and bravery, not honour but life depending on the issue of the contest. The example of Warwick inspired his troops with more than common resolution, and the victory for a while seemed to declare in his favour. But an accident at last threw the balance against him: from the mistiness of the morning, a part of his army happening to mistake a body of their own forces for that of the enemy, fell furiously upon them, and this error turned the fortune of the day. Warwick did all that experience, valour, or conduct, could suggest, to retrieve the mistake, but it was now too late; no art could recover the former error; wherefore, finding all hopes gone, he was resolved to sell the conquerors a dear-bought victory. He had, contrary to his usual practice, engaged that day on foot; and leading a chosen body of troops into the thickest of the slaughter, he there fell in the midst of his enemies, covered with wounds. His brother underwent the same fate; and ten thousand of his adherents were slain, Edward having ordered that no quarter should be given. A.D. 1471. Apr. 14.

Margaret, who had been ever fruitful in resources, was at that time returning from France with her son, the prince of Wales, where she had been negotiating for fresh supplies. She had scarce time to refresh herself from the fatigues of her voyage, when she received the fatal

news of the death of the brave Warwick, and the total destruction of her party. Though she had hitherto boldly withstood all the attacks of fortune, the present information was too violent a blow for nature to support. Her grief, for the first time, found way in a torrent of tears; and yielding to her unhappy fate, she took sanctuary in the abbey of Beaulieu in Hampshire.

She had not been long in this melancholy abode before she found some few friends still willing to assist her fallen fortunes. Tudor, earl of Pembroke, Courtney, earl of Devonshire, the lords of Wenlock and St. John, with other men of rank, exhorted her still to hope for success, and offered to assist her to the last. A dawn of hope was sufficient to revive the courage of this magnanimous woman; and the recollection of her former misfortunes gave way to the flattering prospect of another trial. She had now fought battles in almost every province in England: Tewkesbury-park was the last scene that terminated her attempts. The duke of Somerset headed her army; a man who had shared her dangers, and had ever been ſteady in her cauſe. He was valiant, generous, and polite; but rash and headstrong. When Edward first attacked him in his entrenchments, he repulsed him with such vigour, that the enemy retired with precipitation; upon which the duke, ſuppoſing them routed, pursued, and ordered lord Wenlock to support his charge. But unfortunately this lord disobeyed his orders; and Somerset's forces were soon overpowered by numbers. In this dreadful exigence, the duke, finding that all was over, became ungovernable

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in his rage; and beholding Wenlock inactive, and remaining in the very place where he had first drawn up his men, giving way to his fury, with his heavy battle-ax in both hands, he ran upon the coward, and with one blow dashed out his brains.

The queen and the prince were taken prisoners after the battle, and brought into the presence of Edward. The young prince appeared before the conqueror with undaunted majesty; and being asked, in an insulting manner, how he dared to invade England without leave, the young prince, more mindful of his high birth than of his ruined fortune, replied, "I have "entered the dominions of my father, to re- "venge his injuries, and redress my own." The barbarous Edward, enraged at his intrepidity, struck him on the mouth with his guantlet; and this served as a signal for farther brutality: the dukes of Gloucester, Clarence, and others, like wild beasts, rushing on the unarmed youth at once, stabbed him to the heart with their daggers. To complete the tragedy, Henry himself, who had long been the passive spectator of all these horrors, was now thought unfit to live. The duke of Glouecester, afterwards Richard the Third, entering his chamber alone, murdered him in cold blood. Of all those who were taken, none were suffered to survive but Margaret herself. It was perhaps expected that she would be ransomed by the king of France; and in this they were not deceived, as that monarch paid the king of England fifty thousand crowns for her freedom. This extraordinary woman, after having sustained the

cause of her husband in twelve battles, after having survived her friends, fortunes, and children, died a few years after in privacy in France, very miserable indeed; but with few other claims to our pity, except her courage and her distresses.

CHAP



CHAP. XIX.

EDWARD IV.

OF all people the English are the most truly compassionate; and a throne raised upon cruelty never wanted enemies among them. Nothing could have been more ill-judged than any attempts to govern such a people by the hands of the executioner: and the leaders of either faction seemed insensible of this truth. Edward being now freed from great enemies, turned to the punishment of those of lesser note; so that the gibbets were hung with his adversaries, and their estates confiscated to his use. The bastard Falconbridge, among others, having ad-

vanced to London at the head of a small body of forces, was repulsed; and, being taken prisoner, was immediately executed.

But while Edward was thus rendering himself terrible on the one hand, he was immersed in abandoned pleasures on the other. Nature, it seems, was not unfavourable to him in that respect; as he was universally allowed to be the most beautiful man of his time. His courtiers also seemed willing to encourage those debaucheries in which they had a share; and the clergy, as they themselves practised every kind of lewdness with impunity, were ever ready to lend absolution to all his failings. The truth is, enormous vices had been of late so common, that adultery was held but as a very slight offence. Among the number of his mistresses was the wife of one Shore, a merchant in the city, a woman of exquisite beauty and good sense, but who had not virtue enough to resist the temptations of a beautiful man and a monarch.

England now enjoying a temporary calm, Edward thought, that the best way to ingratiate himself with his subjects, would be to assert his right to his dominions in France, which the insurrections of his father had contributed to alienate during the former reign. An attempt of this kind would serve to give vent to the malignant disposition of his enemies, and would be sure to please the vulgar, who are ever more fond of splendid than of useful acquisitions. To prosecute this scheme, the king sent off to his ally, the duke of Burgundy, a reinforcement of three thousand men, and soon after passed over himself at the head of a numerous army,

army. Lewis the Eleventh, who was then king of France, was, not without reason, alarmed at this formidable invasion, which, as he was unable to resist, he strove to obviate by treaty. This succeeded more effectually than arms; the two kings had an interview at the bridge of Perpignan; and, upon the promise of a stipulated sum, Edward agreed to lead his forces back to England. This monarch wanted to return home to his mistresses, to spend upon them the money he expected to receive from France; and the French monarch hoped soon to put himself in a posture to refuse giving the sums which he had only made a promise to pay.

Upon the conclusion of this expedition, which thus ended without effect, Edward appeared no less actuated by private passions, unworthy a sovereign and a statesman, than jealous of all who seemed to despise his conduct. Among the detail of private wrongs, which are too minute for history, an act of tyranny, of which he was guilty in his own family, deserves the detestation of posterity. The duke of Clarence, by all his services in deserting Warwick, had never been able to recover the king's friendship, which he had forfeited by his former confederacy with that nobleman. A pretext was, therefore, sought to ruin him; and the openness of his hasty temper soon gave the wished-for occasion. The king hunting one day in the park of Thomas Burdet, a creature of the duke's, killed a white buck, which was a great favourite of the owner. Burdet, vexed at the loss, broke into a passion, and wished the horns of the deer in the belly of the person who had advised the king to that insult.

For this trifling exclamation, Burdet was tried for his life, and publicly executed at Tyburn. The duke of Clarence, upon the death of his friend, vented his grief in renewed reproaches against his brother, and exclaimed against the iniquity of the sentence. The king, highly offended with this liberty, or using that as a pretext against him, had him arraigned before the house of peers, and appeared in person as his accuser. In those times of confusion, every crime alleged by the prevailing party was fatal; the duke was found guilty; and being granted a choice in the manner in which he would die, he was privately drowned in a butt of malmsey, in the Tower; a whimsical choice, and implying that he had an extraordinary passion for that liquor.

The rest of this monarch's life was spent in riot and debauchery; in gratifications that are pleasing only to the narrow mind, in useless treaties with France, in which he was ever deceived, and in empty threats against the monarch who had deceived him. His parliament, become merely the ministers of his will, consented, at his request, to a war with France, at a time when his alliances upon the continent were so broken, that it was impossible for it to succeed. The people seemed equally pleased with the prospect of an expedition, which, without serving, could only tend to impoverish the nation; and great hopes were revived of once more conquering France. While all were thus occupied with hope or private distrust, and while Edward was employed in making preparations for that enterprise, he was seized with a distemper, of which he expired, in the forty-second year of his age,

and

and (counting from his first usurpation) in the twenty-third of his reign. The character of this prince is easily summed up. His best qualities were courage and beauty; his bad, a combination of all the vices. Besides five daughters, this king left two sons; Edward, prince of Wales, his successor, then in his thirteenth year; and Richard, duke of York, in his seventh.



CHAP.



CHAP. XX.

EDWARD V.

UPON the death of Edward, the kingdom was divided into two new factions. The queen's family, who, during the last reign, had grown into power, was become obnoxious to the old nobility, who could not bear to act in subordination to persons whom they considered as inferiors. The king, during his life-time, had been able to over-awe these animosities; and on his death-bed endeavoured to guard against their future increase. He expressed a desire, that his brother, the duke of Gloucester, should be intrusted with the regency, and recommended peace

peace and unanimity during the minority of his son. But the king was no sooner dead than the parties broke out with all their former resentment; and the duke of Gloucester, a crafty, wicked, and ambitious prince, resolved to profit by their mutual contentions.

His first aim was to foment the discontents of the old nobility, by insinuating, that the queen wanted to hide the meanness of her original in a multitude of new promotions; at the same time he redoubled his professions of zeal and attachment to that princess, and thus entirely gained her confidence. Having succeeded thus far, he gained over the duke of Buckingham, and some other lords, to his interest, and prevailed upon them to second him in his attempts to get the guardianship of the young king conferred upon him, together with the custody of his person.

Being sure of the assistance of these noblemen, he resolved to take the king out of the custody of the earl of Rivers, his uncle by the mother's side; and having procured that nobleman to be arrested, he met young Edward in person, and offered to conduct him to London, with the most profound demonstrations of respect. Having thus secured the person of the king, his next step was to get the charge of the king's brother, a boy of about seven years old, who, with the queen, his mother, had taken sanctuary in Westminster Abbey. The queen, who had foreseen from the beginning the dangers that threatened her family, was very hardly persuaded to deliver up her child; but at the intercession of the primate, and the archbishop of York, she

she was at last induced to comply: and clasping the child in her arms, with a last embrace, took leave of him with a shower of tears. The young king, finding that he was to have the pleasure of his brother's company, was greatly rejoiced at the queen's compliance, not considering the fatal intent of these preparations; for in a few days after, the duke of Gloucester, who had been made protector of the realm, upon a pretence of guarding their persons from danger, conveyed them both to the Tower.

Having thus secured the persons of those he intended to destroy, his next step was to spread a report of their illegitimacy; and, by pretended obstacles, to put off the day appointed for the young king's coronation. Lord Stanley, a man of deep penetration, was the first to disclose his fears of the protector's having ill designs: and communicated his suspicions to lord Hastings, who long had been firmly attached to the king's family. Hastings would at first give the surmise no credit; and probably his wishes that such a project might not be true, influenced his judgment, and confirmed his security. But he was soon undeceived; for Catesby, a vile instrument of the protector, was sent to sound him, and to try whether he could not be brought over to assist the projected usurpation. Hastings treated the proposal with horror; he professed himself immoveable in his adherence to the king; and his death was, therefore, resolved on by the protector.

In the mean time, orders had been dispatched to execute the lords Rivers, Gray, and Vaughan, who had been confined in Pomfret castle, and whose only crime was their attachment to the young

young king. On the very day on which they were beheaded, the protector summoned a council in the Tower, whither lord Hastings, amongst others, repaired, no way suspecting that his own life was in danger. The duke of Gloucester was capable of committing the most bloody and treacherous murders with the utmost coolness and indifference. He came thither at nine o'clock in the morning, with the most cheerful countenance, saluting the members with the utmost affability, and demonstrations of unusual good humour. He complimented the bishop of Ely on his early strawberries, and begged to have a dish of them. He then left the council, as if called away by other business; but desired that his absence might not interrupt the debates. In about an hour he returned quite altered in look, knitting his brows, biting his lips, and showing, by a frequent change of countenance, the signs of some inward perturbation. A silence ensued for some time; and the lords looked upon each other, not without reason, expecting some horrid catastrophe. At length, he broke the dreadful silence: "My lords, cried he, what punish-"ment do they deserve, who have conspired "against my life?" This question redoubled the astonishment of the assembly; and the silence continuing, lord Hastings at length made answer, that whoever did so, deserved to be punished as a traitor. "These traitors, cried the pro-"tector, are the sorceress my brother's wife, "and Jane Shore, his mistress, with others "their associates. See to what a condition they "have reduced me by their incantations and "witchcrafts." Upon which he laid bare his arm, all shrivelled and decayed. The amaze-

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ment of the council seemed to increase at this terrible accusation; and lord Hastings again said: "If they have committed such a crime, "they deserve punishment."—"If?" cried the protector, with a loud voice, "dost thou answer "me with Ifs? I tell thee that they have con- "spired my death; and that thou, traitor, art "an accomplice in their crime!" He then struck the table twice with his hand; and the room was instantly filled with armed men. "I "arrest thee," continues he, turning to Hastings, "for high treason;" and at the same time gave him in charge to the soldiers. In the mean time the council-room was filled with tumult and confusion; and though no rescue was offered, yet the soldiers caused a bustle, as if they apprehended danger. One of them narrowly missed cleaving lord Stanley's head with a battle-axe; but he fortunately escaped, by shrinking under the table. In all probability the fellow had orders for that attempt; and should Stanley be killed, his death might be ascribed to the tumult caused by an intended rescue. However, though he escaped the blow, he was arrested by the protector's order, who was well apprised of his attachment to the young king. As for lord Hastings, he was obliged to make a short confession to the next priest that was at hand; the protector crying out, by St. Paul, that he would not dine till he had seen his head taken off. He was accordingly hurried out to the little Green before the Tower chapel, and there beheaded on a log of wood that accidentally lay in the way. Two hours after a proclamation, very well drawn up, was read to the citizens of London, enumerating his offences, and palliating the sud-

denness

denness of his punishment. It was remarked, however, by a merchant among the auditors, that the proclamation was certainly drawn up by a spirit of prophecy.

The protector, having thus got rid of those he most feared, was willing to please the populace by punishing Jane Shore, the late king's mistress. This unfortunate woman was an enemy too humble to excite his jealousy; yet, as he had accused her of witchcraft, of which all the world saw she was innocent, he thought proper to make her an example, for those faults of which she was really guilty. Jane Shore had been formerly deluded from her husband, who was a goldsmith in Lombard-street, and continued to live with Edward, the most guiltless mistress in his abandoned court. She was ever known to intercede for the distressed, and was usually applied to as mediator for mercy. She was charitable, generous, and of a most pleasing conversation; her wit being said to be as irresistible as her beauty. As she was blameless in other respects, the protector ordered her to be sued for incontinency, as having left her husband to live in adultery with another. It is very probable, that the people were not displeased at seeing one again reduced to former meanness, who had for a while been raised above them, and enjoyed the smiles of a court. The charge against her was too notorious to be denied; she pleaded guilty, and was accordingly condemned to walk barefoot through the city, and to do penance in St. Paul's church in a white sheet, with a wax taper in her hand, before thousands of spectators. She lived above forty years after this sentence, reduced to the most extreme wretchedness; and

sir

sir Thomas More, in the succeeding reign, assures us, that he saw her gathering herbs in a field near the city for her nightly repast; an extraordinary example of the ingratitude of courts, and the reverses of fortune.

The protector now began to throw off the mask, and to deny his pretended regard for the sons of the late king, thinking it high time to aspire at the throne more openly. He had previously gained over the duke of Buckingham, a man of talents and power, by bribes and promises of future favour. This nobleman, therefore, used all his arts to infuse into the people an opinion of the bastardy of the late king, and also that of his children. Doctor Shaw, a popular preacher, was hired to harangue the people from St Paul's Cross to the same purpose; where, after having displayed the incontinence of the queen, and insisting on the illegality of the young king's title, he then expatiated on the virtues of the protector. "It is the protector," cried he, "who carries in his face the image of virtue, "and the marks of a true descent. He alone "can restore the lost honour and glory of the "nation." It was hoped upon this occasion, that some of the populace would have cried out, "Long live king Richard!" but the audience remaining silent, the duke of Buckingham undertook to persuadé them, in his turn. His speech was copious upon the calamities of the last reign, and the bastardy of the present race; he saw only one method of shielding off the miseries that threatened the state, which was, to elect the protector; but he seemed apprehensive that he would never be prevailed on to accept of a crown, accompanied with such difficulty and danger.

danger. He next asked his auditors, whether they would have the protector for their king; but was mortified to find that a total silence ensued. The mayor, who was in the secret, willing to relieve him in this embarrassing situation, observed, that the citizens were not accustomed to be harangued by a person of such quality, and would only give an answer to their recorder. This officer repeated the duke's speech; but the people continuing still silent, "This is strange "obstinacy!" cried the duke; "we only require of "you, in plain terms, to declare, whether or "not you will have the duke of Gloucester for "your king; as the lords and commons have "sufficient power without your concurrence?" After all these efforts, some of the meanest apprentices, incited by the protector's and Buckingham's servants, raising a feeble cry of, "God "save king Richard!" the mob at the door, a despicable class of people, ever pleased with novelty, repeated the cry, and, throwing up their caps, repeated, a Richard! a Richard!

In this manner the duke took the advantage of this faint approbation; and the next day, at the head of the mayor and aldermen, went to wait upon the protector, at Baynard's Castle, with offers of the crown. When Richard was told that a great multitude was waiting at the door, with his usual hypocrisy he appeared to the crowd in a gallery between two bishops, and at first seemed quite surprised at such a concourse of people. But when he was informed that their business was to offer him the crown, he declared against accepting it; alleging his love for the late king, his brother, his affection for the children under his care, and his own insufficiency.

Buckingham seeming displeaſed with this answer, muttered some words to himself, but at length plainly told him, "That it was needless to re- "fuse, for the people were bent on making "him king; that they had now proceeded too "far to recede; and therefore, in case of his re- "fusal, were determined to offer the crown "where it would meet a more ready acceptance." This was a resolution which the protector's tenderness for his people would not suffer him to see effected. "I perceive", cried he, in a modest tone, "that the kingdom is resolved to load me "with preferments, unequal to my abilities or "my choice; yet, since it is my duty to obey "the dictates of a free people, I will, though re- "luctantly, accept their petition. I, therefore, "from this moment, enter upon the government "of England and France, with a resolution to "defend the one and subdue the other." The crowd being thus dismissed, each man returned home, pondering upon the proceedings of the day; and making such remarks as passion, interest, or party, might suggest.



CHAP. XXI.

RICHARD III.

ONE crime ever draws on another; justice will revolt against fraud, and usurpation requires security. As soon, therefore, as Richard was seated upon the throne, he sent the governor of the Tower orders to put the two young princes to death; but this brave man, whose name was Brackenbury, refused to be made the instrument of a tyrant's will; and ſubmissively answered, that he knew not how to embrue his hands in innocent blood. A fit instrument, however, was not long wanting; sir James Tyrrel readily undertook the office, and Brackenbury was ordered A. D. 1483.

to resign to him the keys for one night. Tyrrel chusing three associates, Slater, Dighton, and Forest, came in the night-time to the door of the chamber, where the princes were lodged; and sending in the assassins, he bid them execute their commission, while he staid without. They found the young princes in bed, and fallen into a sound sleep; after suffocating them with the bolster and pillows, they showed their naked bodies to Tyrrel; who ordered them to be buried at the stair-foot, deep in the ground, under an heap of stones. These facts appeared in the succeeding reign, being confessed by the perpetrators; who, however, escaped punishment for the crime. The bodies of the princes were afterwards sought for by Henry VII. but could not be found; however, in the reign of Charles II. the bones of two persons, answering their age, were discovered in the very spot where it was said they were buried: they were interred in a marble monument, by order of the king, in Westminster Abbey.

Richard had now waded through every obstacle to the throne; and began, after the manner of all usurpers, to strengthen his ill-got power by foreign connections. Sensible also of the influence of pageantry and show upon the minds of the people, he caused himself to be crowned first at London, and afterwards at York. The clergy he endeavoured to secure by great indulgencies; and his friends, by bestowing rewards on them, in proportion as they were instrumental in placing him on the throne.

But while he thus endeavoured to eſtablish his power, he found it threatened on a quarter where he least expected an attack. The duke of Buckingham,

ingham, who had been too instrumental in placing him on the throne, though he had received the greatest rewards for his services, yet continued to wish for more. He had already several posts and governments conferred upon him; but that nobleman, whose avarice was insatiable, making a demand of the confiscated lands in Hereford, to which his family had an ancient claim, Richard, either reluctantly complied with his request, or but partially indulged it, so that a coolness soon ensued; and no sooner had Buckingham supposed himself injured, than he resolved to dethrone a monarch, whose title was founded in injustice. At first, however, this aspiring subject remained in doubt, whether he should put up for the crown himself, or set up another; but the latter resolution prevailing, he determined to declare for Henry, earl of Richmond, who was at that time an exile in Bretagne, and was considered as the only surviving branch of the house of Lancaster.

Henry, earl of Richmond, was detained in a kind of honourable custody by the duke of Bretagne. He was one of those who had the good fortune to escape the numerous massacres of the preceding reigns; but as he was a descendant of John of Gaunt, by the female line, he was for that reason obnoxious to those in power. He had long lived in exile; and was, at one time, delivered up to the embassadors of Edward, who were preparing to carry him over to England, when the prince, who delivered him, repented of what he had done, and took him from the embassadors just as they were leading him on ship-board. This was the youth on whom the duke of Buckingham cast his eye, to succeed to the crown,

and a negotiation was begun between them for that purpose. Henry's hereditary right to the throne was doubtful, but the crimes of the usurper served to strengthen his claims. However, still further to improve his title, a marriage was projected between him and the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the late king, and the queen dowager was prevailed on heartily to accede to the measure.

Richard, in the mean-time, either informed by his creatures, or kept distrustful by conscious guilt, began to suspect Buckingham's fidelity; and the secret informations which he daily received, left him no room to doubt of the truth of his suspicions. Impressed with this jealousy, he formed a resolution of sending for him to court; and the duke's refusing to obey the summons confirmed him in his fears. But he soon had the plainest proofs of Buckingham's enmity, intelligence arriving that this nobleman was at the head of a large body of men in arms, and marching towards the western shore. Richard, whose courage no danger could allay, immediately put himself in a posture of defence, by levying some troops in the North, and prepared to meet the insurgents with his usual expedition. But fortune seemed his friend on the present occasion, and rendered all his preparations unnecessary. As Buckingham was advancing by hasty marches towards Gloucester, where he designed to cross the Severn, he found that river swoln to such a degree, that the country on both sides was deluged, and even the tops of some hills were covered with water. This inundation continued for ten days; during which Buckingham's army, composed of Welchmen, could

could neither pass the river, nor find subsistence on their own side; they were therefore obliged to disperse, and return home, notwithstanding all the duke's efforts to prolong their stay. In this helpless situation, the duke, after a short deliberation, took refuge at the house of one Banister, who had been his servant, and who had received repeated obligations from his family. But the wicked seldom find, as they seldom exert, friendship. Banister, unable to resist the temptation of a large reward that was set upon the duke's head, betrayed him to the sheriff of Shropshire, who, surrounding the house with armed men, seised the duke, in the habit of a peasant, and conducted him to Salisbury, where he was instantly tried, condemned, and executed, according to the summary method practised in those ages.

In the mean-time the earl of Richmond landed in England; but finding his hopes frustrated by the failure of Buckingham, he hastily set sail again, and returned to Bretagne. Thus every concurrence seemed to promise Richard a long possession of the crown; however, the authority of parliament was still wanting to give sanction to the injustice of his proceedings; but in those times of ignorance and guilt that was easily procured. An act was passed, confirming the illegitimacy of Edward's children; an act of attainder also was confirmed against Henry, earl of Richmond; and all the usurper's wishes seemed to be the aim of their deliberations. One thing was wanting to complete Richard's security, which was the death of his rival; to effect this, he sent embassadors to the duke of Bretagne, seemingly upon business of a public nature; but,

in reality, to treat with Landois, that prince's minister, to deliver up Richmond. The minister was base enough to enter into the negotiation; but Richmond, having had timely notice, fled away into France, and just reached the confines of that kingdom, when he found that he was pursued by those who intended giving him up to this rival.

Richard thus finding his attempts to seise his enemy's person unsuccessful, became every day more cruel, as his power grew more precarious. Among those who chiefly excited his jealousy, was the lord Stanley, who was married to the widow of Edward; and to keep him stedfast in obedience, he took his son as an hostage for the father's behaviour. He now also resolved to get rid of his present queen, Anne, to make room for a match with his niece, the princess Elizabeth, by whose alliance he hoped to cover the injustice of his claims. The lady whom he desired to get rid of, was the widow of the young prince of Wales, whom he had murdered with his own hands at Tewkesbury; and it is no slight indication of the barbarity of the times, that the widow should accept for her second lord the murderer of her former husband. But she was now rewarded for her former inhumanity, as Richard treated her with so much pride and indifference, that she died with grief, according to his ardent expectation. However, his wishes were not crowned with success in his applications to Elizabeth: the mother, indeed, was not averse to the match; but the princess herself treated his vile addresses with contempt and detestation.

Amidst

Amidst the perplexity caused by this unexpected refusal, he received information that the earl of Richmond was once more making preparations to land in England, and assert his claims to the crown. Richard, who knew not in what quarter he might expect the invader, had taken post at Nottingham, in the centre of the kingdom; and had given commissions to several of his creatures, to oppose the enemy wherever he should land. The account received of Richmond's preparations were not ungrounded; he set out from Harfleur in Normandy, with a retinue of about two thousand persons; and, after a voyage of six days, arrived at Milford-Haven, in Wales, where he landed without opposition. Sir Rice ap Thomas, and sir Walter Herbert, who were intrusted to oppose him in Wales, were both in his interests; the one immediately deserted to him, and the other made but a feeble opposition. Upon news of this descent, Richard, who was possessed of courage and military conduct, his only virtues, instantly resolved to meet his antagonist, and decide their mutual pretensions by a battle. Richmond, on the other hand, being reinforced by sir Thomas Bourchier, sir Walter Hungerford, and others, to the number of about six thousand, boldly advanced with the same intention; and, in a few days, both armies drew near Bosworth field, to determine a contest that had now for more than forty years filled the kingdom with civil commotions, and deluged its plains with blood.

The army of Richard was above double that of Henry; but the chief confidence of the latter lay in the friendship and secret assurances of lord Stanley, who, with a body of seven thousand men,

men, hovered near the field of battle, and declined engaging on either side.

Richard perceiving his enemy advance, drew up his army, consisting of about thirteen thousand men, in order of battle; he gave the command of the van-guard to the duke of Norfolk, while he led the main body himself, with the crown on his head, designing by this either to inspire the enemy with awe, or to render himself conspicuous to his own army. The van of Richmond's army, consisting of archers, was commanded by John, earl of Oxford; sir Gilbert Talbot led the right wing, sir John Savage the left; while the earl himself, accompanied by his uncle, the earl of Pembroke, placed himself in the main body. Lord Stanley, in the meantime, posted himself on one flank, between the two armies, while his brother took his station on the other, which was opposite. Richard seeing him thus in a situation equally convenient for joining either army, immediately sent him orders to unite himself to the main body, which the other refusing, he gave instant orders for beheading lord Stanley's son, whom he still kept as an hostage. He was persuaded, however, to postpone the execution till after the fight; and attending to the more important transactions of the day, he directed the trumpets to sound to battle. The two armies approaching each other, the battle began with a shower of arrows, and soon the adverse fronts were seen closing. This was what lord Stanley had for some time expected, who immediately profiting by the occasion, joined the line of Richmond, and thus turned the fortune of the day. This measure, so unexpected to the men, though not to their leaders, had a proportioned

effect

effect on both armies; it inspired unusual courage into Henry's soldiers, and threw Richard's into confusion. The intrepid tyrant, perceiving the danger of his situation, spurred his horse into the thickest of the fight, while Richmond quitted his station behind, to encourage his troops by his presence in the front. Richard perceiving him, was desirous of ending all by one blow; and with irresistible fury flew through thousands to attack him. He slew sir William Brandon, the earl's standard bearer, who attempted to stop his career. Sir John Cheyne having taken Brandon's place, was thrown by him to the ground. Richmond, in the mean-time, stood firm to oppose him; but they were separated by the interposing crowd. Richard, thus disappointed, went, by his presence, to inspire his troops at another quarter; but at length perceiving his army every where yielding or flying, and now finding that all was gone, he rushed with a loud shout into the midst of the enemy, and there met a better death than his crimes and cruelties deserved. After the battle his body was found stripped among a heap of slain, covered over with wounds, and the eyes frightfully staring. In this manner it was thrown across a horse, the head hanging down on one side and the legs on the other, and thus carried to Leicester. It lay there two days exposed to public view, and then was buried without farther ceremony.

Richard's crown being found by one of Henry's soldiers on the field of battle, it was immediately placed upon the head of the conqueror; while the whole army, as if inspired with one voice, cried out, "Long live king Henry!"

Thus ended the bloody reign of Richard; and, by

by his death, the race of the Plantagenet kings, who had been in possession of the crown during the space of three hundred and thirty years, became extinct. Thus ended also the contests between the houses of York and Lancaster, by which most of the antient families of the kingdom were extinguished, and more than an hundred thousand men lost their lives, either by the sword or the executioner.

These dissensions had, for some time, reduced the kingdom to a state of savage barbarity. Laws, arts, and commerce, which had before emitted some feeble gleams, were entirely neglected for the practice of arms; and to be a conqueror was sufficient, in the eyes of the brutal people, to stand for every other virtue. The English had as yet but little idea of legal subordination; nor could they give any applause to those who attempted to cultivate the arts of peace, the whole of their study and education being turned for war. The ferocity of the people to each other was incredible. However, the women, whatever part they took in the disturbances of the government, were exempted from capital punishments; nor were they ever put to death, except when convicted of witchcraft or poisoning. As for the clergy, they were entirely distinct from the laity, both in customs, laws, and learning. They were governed by the code of civil law, drawn up in the times of Justinian; while the laity were held by the common law, which had been traditional from times immemorial in the country. The clergy, whatever we may be told to the contrary, understood and wrote Latin fluently; while the laity, on the other hand, understood nothing of Latin, but applied themselves wholly to the French language,

guage, when they aspired at the character of a polite education. The clergy, as a body distinct from the state, little interested themselves in civil polity; and perhaps they were not displeased to see the laity, whom they considered less as fellow-subjects than rivals for power, weakening themselves by continual contests, and thus rendering themselves more easily manageable. In short, as there was no knowledge of government among the individuals, but what totally resulted from power, the state was like a feverish constitution, ever subject to ferment and disorder. France, indeed, had served for some time as a drain for the peccant humours; but when that was no longer open, the disorders of the constitution seemed daily to increase, and vented themselves at last in all the horrors of a long continued civil war.



CHAP. XXII.

HENRY VII.

A.D. 1485. AFTER having presented the reader with a frightful train of treasons, stratagems, murders, and usurpations, we are beginning to emerge into a time of greater importance and glory. We are now to view the conduct of a monarch who, if not the best, was at least the most useful of any that ever sate upon the English throne. We are now to behold a nation of tumult reduced to civil subordination; an insolent and factious aristocracy humbled, wise laws enacted, commerce restored, and the peaceful arts made amiable to a people, for whom war alone heretofore

tofore had charms. Hitherto we have only beheld the actions of a barbarous nation, obeying with reluctance, and governed by caprice; but henceforward we may discover more refined politics, and better concerted schemes; human wisdom, as if roused from her lethargy of thirteen hundred years, exerting all her efforts to subdue the natural ferocity of the people, and to introduce permanent felicity.

Henry's first care, upon coming to the throne, was to marry the princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward the Fourth; and thus he blended the interests of the houses of York and Lancaster, so that ever after they were incapable of distinction. Nevertheless, being apprehensive that the people might suppose he claimed the crown in right of this union, he deferred the queen's coronation till two years after, by which he made the priority of his own claim incontestable. His reign also happily commenced with an obedience to the forms of law, of which England had hitherto seen but few examples. An act had been passed in the preceding reign for the attainder of his friends and followers, which continued still in force; and the names of many members of that house, by which it was to be repealed, were expressly mentioned in the attainder. To suffer these to join in repealing that statute, would be admitting them as judges in their own cause; but to this Henry prudently objected, obliging them to leave the house, till an act was passed for reversing their attainder.

Before this reign, it had been usual with any person who was attainted, after his execution, to give away his estates to any of the court favourites that happened to be most in confidence.

Henry

Henry wisely perceived that this severity had two bad effects: the cruelty of the measure in the first place excited indignation; and it also made the favourite too powerful for subjection. In order to remedy these inconveniences, he made a law to deprive those who were found in arms of their estates and effects, and sequestered them for the benefit of the crown.

A great part of the miseries of his predecessors proceeded from their poverty, which was mostly occasioned by riot and dissipation. Henry saw that money alone could turn the scale of power in his favour; and therefore hoarded up all the confiscations of his enemies with the utmost frugality. From hence he has been accused by historians of avarice; but that avarice which tends to strengthen government, and repress sedition, is not only excusable, but praiseworthy. Liberality in a king is too often a misplaced virtue. What is thus given is generally extorted from the industrious and needy, to be lavished as rewards on the rich, the insidious, and the fawning, upon the sycophants of a court, or the improvers of luxurious refinement. Henry showed himself very different from his predecessors in these respects, as he gave very few rewards to the courtiers about his person; and none, except the needy, shared his benefactions. He released all prisoners for debt in his dominions, whose debts did not amount to forty shillings, and paid their creditors from the royal coffers. Thus his economy rendered him not only useful to the poor, but enabled him to be just to his own creditors, either abroad or at home. Those sums which he borrowed from the city of London, or any of his subjects, he repaid at the appointed

appointed day with the utmost punctuality; and in proportion as he was esteemed in his own dominions, he became respectable abroad.

With regard to the king's servants, he was himself the only acting minister; and as for the rest, he did not chuse his under agents from among the nobility, as had been most usual; but pitched upon John Morton, and Richard Fox, two clergymen, persons of industry, vigilance, and capacity, to whom he chiefly confided his affairs and secret councils. They had shared with him in all his former dangers and distresses; and he now took care that they should participate in his good fortune; the one being soon after created bishop of Ely, the other bishop of Exeter. He perhaps supposed, that as clergymen were naturally more dependent on him than the nobility, so they would be more submissive to his commands, and more active in their services.

Immediately after his marriage with Elizabeth, he issued a general pardon to all such as chose to accept it; but those lords who had been the favourites of the last reign, and long accustomed to turbulence, refused his proffered tenderness, and flew to arms. Lord Lovel, together with Humphrey and Thomas Stafford, placed themselves at the head of this insurrection; but Henry sent the duke of Bedford to oppose them, with orders to try what might be done by offering a pardon, before he made any attempts to reduce them. The duke punctually obeyed his instructions; and a general promise of pardon was made to the rebels, which had a greater effect on the leaders than on their followers. Lovel, who had undertaken an enterprise that exceeded his courage and capacity, was so terrified with the fears

of desertion among his troops, that he suddenly withdrew himself; and after lurking some time in Lancashire, made his escape into Flanders, where he was protected by the duchess of Burgundy. The Staffords took sanctuary in the church of Colnham, a village near Abingdon; but it appearing that this church had not the privilege of giving protection, they were taken thence; the eldest Stafford was executed at Tyburn; the younger, pleading that he was misled by his brother, obtained his pardon. The rebel army, now without a leader, submitted to the mercy of the king, and were permitted to disperse without farther punishment.

But the people were become so turbulent and factious by a long course of civil war, that no governor could rule them, nor any king please; so that one rebellion seemed extinguished only to give rise to another. The king, in the beginning of his reign, had given orders that the son of the duke of Clarence, whom we have already mentioned as being drowned in a wine-butt, should be taken from the prison where he had been confined by Richard, and brought to the Tower. This unfortunate youth, who was styled the earl of Warwick, was, by long confinement, so unacquainted with the world, that, as we are told, he could not tell the difference between a duck and a hen. However, the unhappy youth, harmless as he was, was made an instrument to deceive the people. There lived in Oxford one Richard Simon, a priest, who, possessing some subtlety, and more rashness, trained up one Lambert Simnel, a baker's son, to counterfeit the person of the earl of Warwick; and he was previously instructed by his tutor to talk upon

upon many facts and occurrences, as happening to him in the court of Edward. But as the impostor was not calculated to bear a close inspection, it was thought proper to show him first at a distance; and Ireland was judged the fittest theatre for him to support his assumed character. The plot unfolded to their wishes; Simnel was received with the utmost joy, and proclaimed king of Ireland; he was conducted by the magistrates and the populace of Dublin with great pomp to the Castle, where he was treated conformably to his supposed birth and distinction.

Henry could not help feeling more uneasiness at this bare-faced imposture than it seemed to deserve; but the penetrating monarch saw that his mother-in-law was at the bottom of it; and he dreaded the fierce inquietude of her temper. He was resolved therefore to take the advice of his council upon this occasion; and they, after due deliberation, determined upon confining the old queen to a monastery; but, to wipe off the imputation of treason from one so nearly allied to the crown, it was given out that she was thus punished for having formerly delivered up the princess, her daughter, to Richard. The people as usual murmured at the severity of her treatment; but the king, unmindful of their idle clamours, persisted in his resolution; and she remained in confinement till her death, which did not happen till several years after. The next measure was to show Warwick to the people. In consequence of this he was taken from the Tower, and led through the principal streets of London, after which he was conducted in solemn procession to St. Paul's, where great numbers were assembled to see him. Still, however, they proceeded

in Dublin to honour their pretended monarch; and he was crowned with great solemnity, in presence of the earl of Kildare, the chancellor, and the other officers of state. Such impositions upon the people were very frequent at that time, in several parts of Europe. Lorrain, Naples, and Portugal, had their impostors, who continued to deceive for a long time without detection. In fact, the inhabitants of every country were so much confined within their own limits, and knew so little of what was passing in the rest of the world, that any distant story might be propagated, how improbable soever. In this manner king Simnel, being now joined by lord Lovel, and one or two lords more of the discontented party, resolved to pass over into England; and accordingly landed in Lancashire, from whence he marched to York, expecting the country would rise and join him as he marched along. But in this he was deceived; the people, averse to join a body of German and Irish troops, by whom he was supported, and kept in awe by the king's reputation, remained in tranquillity, or gave all their assistance to the royal cause. The earl of Lincoln, therefore, a disaffected lord, to whom the command of the rebel army was given, finding no hopes but in speedy victory, was determined to bring the contest to a short issue. The opposite armies met at Stoke, in the county of Nottingham, and fought a battle, which was more bloody, and more obstinately disputed, than could have been expected from the inequality of their forces. But victory at length declared in favour of the king, and it proved decisive. Lord Lincoln perished in the field of battle; lord Lovel was never more heard of, and it was supposed

posed he shared the same fate. Simnel, with his tutor Simon, was taken prisoner; and four thousand of the common men fell in battle. Simon being a priest could not be tried by the civil power, and was only committed to close confinement. Simnel was too contemptible to excite the king's fears or resentment; he was pardoned, and made a scullion in the king's kitchen, whence he was afterwards advanced to the rank of falconer, in which mean employment he died.

Things being thus quietly settled at home, Henry began to turn his thoughts towards his continental connections, and to establish some degree of understanding between him and the neighbouring states around him. He was too wise a prince, not to perceive the fatality of conquests upon the continent, which could at best produce no other reputation than the empty one of military glory. Yet, while he internally despised such pernicious triumphs, he was obliged, in order to gain popularity, to countenance them. He, therefore, frequently boasted that he was determined to ravish his kingdom of France from the usurpers, who had long possessed it; and that he would lay the whole country in blood. But these were the distant threats of a crafty politician; there was nothing more distant from his heart. As far as negotiations went, he did all in his power to keep the interests of that kingdom so nearly balanced, as to prevent any from growing too powerful; but as for succours of men and money, he too well knew the value of both to lavish them as his predecessors had done, upon such fruitless projects.

About this time the nobles of Bretagne, being disgusted with their minister, Peter Landois,

rose in conspiracy against him, and put him to
A D. 1488. death. Willing to defend one crime by another, they called in the aid of the French monarch to protect them from the resentment of their own sovereign. The French monarch quickly obeyed the call; but instead of only bringing the nobles assistance, over-ran and took possession of the greatest part of the country. The aid of Henry was implored by the distressed Bretons; but this monarch appeared more willing to assist them by negotiations than by arms: though he determined to maintain a pacific conduct, as far as the situation of his affairs would permit, he knew too well the warlike disposition of his subjects, and their desires to engage in any scheme that promised the humiliation of France. He resolved, therefore, to take advantage of this propensity; and to draw some supplies of money from the people, on pretence of giving assistance to the duke of Bretagne. He accordingly summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster, and easily persuaded them to grant him a considerable supply. But money was, at that time, more easily granted than levied in England. A new insurrection began in Yorkshire, the people resisting the commissioners who were appointed to levy the tax. The earl of Northumberland attempted to enforce the king's command; but the populace, being by this taught to believe that he was the adviser of their oppressions, flew to arms, attacked his house, and put him to death. The mutineers did not stop there; but by the advice of one John à Chambre, a seditious fellow of mean birth, they chose sir John Egremont for their leader, and prepared themselves for a vigorous resistance. The king, upon hearing this rash

rash proceeding, immediately levied a force, which he put under the earl of Surry; and this nobleman, encountering the rebels, dissipated the tumult, and took their leader prisoner. John à Chambre was shortly after executed; but sir John Egremont fled to the court of the duchess of Burgundy, the usual retreat of all who were obnoxious to government in England.

As Henry had gone thus far in preparations for a war with France, he supposed that it would be too flagrant an imposition upon the credulity of the nation, not to put a part of his threats in execution. France was by this time possessed of all Bretagne; and a marriage had been lately concluded between the French monarch and the duchess of the last named territory. This accession of power, in a rival state, was formidable not only to Henry, but to Europe. He therefore prepared to make a descent upon France; and accordingly landed at Calais with an army of twenty-five thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse, which he put under the command of the duke of Bedford and the earl of Oxford. But notwithstanding this appearance of an hostile disposition, there had been secret advances made towards a peace three months before, and commissioners had been appointed to treat on the terms. The demands of Henry were wholly pecuniary; and the king of France, who deemed the peaceable possession of Bretagne an equivalent for any sum, readily agreed to the proposals made him. He engaged to pay Henry near two hundred thousand pounds sterling, as a reimbursement for the expenses of this expedition; and he stipulated to pay a yearly pension

to him, and his heirs, of twenty-five thousand crowns more.

A. D. 1492. Henry, having thus made an advantageous peace, had reason to flatter himself with the prospect of long tranquillity, but he was mistaken; he had still enemies who found means to embroil him in fresh difficulties and dangers. One would have imagined, that from the ill success of Simnel's imposture, few would be willing to embark in another of a similar kind; however, the old duchess of Burgundy, rather irritated than discouraged by the failure of her past enterprises, was determined to disturb that government which she could not subvert. She first procured a report to be spread, that the young duke of York, said to have been murdered in the Tower, was still living; and finding the rumour greedily received, she soon produced a young man, who assumed his name and character. The person pitched upon to sustain this part, was one Osbeck or Warbeck, the son of a converted Jew, who had been in England during the reign of Edward IV. where he had this son named Peter, but corrupted, after the Flemish manner, into Peterkin or Perkin. It was by some believed that Edward, among his other amorous adventures, had a secret correspondence with Warbeck's wife, which might account for a striking resemblance between young Perkin and that monarch. Perkin following the fortunes of his father, had travelled for many years from place to place; so that his birth and circumstances became thereby unknown, and difficult to be traced by the most diligent inquiry. The variety of his adventures might have contributed to assist the natural sagacity and versatility of his disposition;

position; as he seemed to be a youth capable of sustaining any part or any assumed character. The duchess of Burgundy found this youth entirely suited to her purposes; and her lessons, instructing him to personate the duke of York, were easily learned, and strongly retained by a youth of such quick apprehension. In short, his graceful air, his courtly address, his easy manners, and elegant conversation, were capable of imposing upon all but such as were conscious of the imposture.

The kingdom of Ireland, which still retained its attachments to the house of York, was pitched upon as the proper place for Perkin's first appearance, as it before had favoured that of Simnel. He landed at Cork; and immediately assuming the name of Richard Plantagenet, drew to him numerous partisans among that credulous people. He wrote letters to the earls of Desmond and Kildare, inviting them to join his party; he dispersed every where the strange intelligence of his escape from his uncle Richard's cruelty; and men, fond of every thing new and wonderful, began to make him the general subject of their discourse, and even the object of their favour. From Ireland his fame soon spread over into France; and Charles sent Perkin an invitation to his court, where he received him with all the marks of consideration that were due to his supposed dignity. The youth, no way dazzled by his elevation, supported the prepossession which was spread abroad in his favour; so that England itself soon began to give credit to his pretensions; while sir George Nevil, sir John Taylor, and above a hundred gentlemen more went to Paris to pay him homage, and offer him services.

Upon

Upon the peace being shortly after concluded between France and England, the impostor was obliged to make his residence at the court of his old patroness, the duchess of Burgundy, and the interview between these conscious deceivers was truly ridiculous. The duchess affected the utmost ignorance of his pretensions, and even put on the appearance of distrust, having, as she said, been already deceived by Simnel. She seemed to examine all his assertions with the most scrupulous diffidence; put many particular questions to him, affected astonishment at his answers, and at last, after long and severe scrutiny, burst out into joy and admiration at his delivery, acknowledging him as her nephew, as the true image of Edward, and legitimate successor to the English throne. She immediately assigned him an equipage suitable to his pretensions; appointed him a guard of thirty halberdiers; and on all occasions honoured him with the appellation of the White Rose of England.

The English, ever ready to revolt, gave credit to all these absurdities; while the young man's prudence, conversation, and deportment, served to confirm what their disaffection and credulity had begun. All such as were disgusted with the king, prepared to join him, but particularly those that were formerly Henry's favourites, and had contributed to place him on the throne, thinking their services could never be sufficiently repaid, now privately abetted the imposture, and became heads of the conspiracy. These were joined by numbers of the inferior class, some greedy of novelty, some blindly attached to their leaders, and some induced by their desperate fortunes to wish for a change.

Among

Among those who secretly abetted the cause of Perkin, were lord Fitzwalter, sir Simon Mountfort, sir Thomas Thwaits, and sir Robert Clifford. But the person of the greatest weight, and the most dangerous opposition, was sir William Stanley, the lord chamberlain, and brother to the famous lord Stanley who had contributed to place Henry on the throne. This personage, either moved by a blind credulity, or more probably by a restless ambition, entered into a regular conspiracy against the king; and a correspondence was settled between the malcontents in England and those in Flanders.

While the plot was thus carrying on in all quarters, Henry was not inattentive to the designs of his enemies. He spared neither labour nor expense to detect the falsehood of the pretender to his crown; and was equally assiduous in finding out who were his secret abettors. For this purpose he dispersed his spies through all Flanders, and brought over, by large bribes, some of those whom he knew to be in the enemies interests. Among these, sir Robert Clifford was the most remarkable, both for his consequence, and the confidence with which he was trusted. From this person Henry learned the whole of Perkin's birth and adventures, together with the names of all those who had secretly combined to assist him. The king was pleased with the discovery; but the more truſt he gave to his spies, the higher resentment did he feign against them.

At first he was struck with indignation at the ingratitude of many of those about him; but concealing his resentment for a proper opportunity, he, almost at the same instant, arrested Fitzwalter, Mountfort, and Thwaits, together with

with William Danbery, Robert Radcliffe, Thomas Cressener, and Thomas Astwood. All these were arraigned, convicted, and condemned for high treason. Mountfort, Radcliffe, and Danbery, were immediately executed; the rest received pardon. But the principal delinquent yet remained to be punished, whose station, as lord chamberlain, and whose connections with many of the principal men in the kingdom, seemed to exempt him from censure. To effect this, Clifford was directed to come over privately to England, and to accuse Stanley in person, which he did, to the seeming astonishment of all present. Henry affected to receive the intelligence as false and incredible; but Clifford persisting in his accusation, Stanley was committed to cuſtody, and soon after examined before the council. Finding his guilt but too clearly proved, he did not attempt to conceal it, supposing that an open confession might serve as an atonement, or trusting to his former services for pardon and security. In this he was mistaken; after a delay of six weeks, during which time the king affected to deliberate upon his conduct, he was brought to trial, when he was condemned, and shortly after beheaded. Through the whole of this reign, the king seemed to make a distinction in the crimes of those who conspired against him: whenever the conspirator took up arms against him from a conscientious adherence to principle, and a love of the house of York, he generally found pardon; but when a love of change, or an impatience of subordination, inspired the attempt, the offender was sure to be treated with the utmost rigour of the law.

While

While the adherents of Perkin were thus disappointed in England, he himself attempted landing in Kent; the gentlemen of which county gathered in a body to oppose him. Their aim was to allure him on shore by proffers of assistance, and then seise his person; but the wary youth, observing that they had more order and regularity in their movements than could be supposed in new levied forces, refused to commit himself into their hands; wherefore they set upon his attendants who had come ashore, of whom they took a hundred and fifty prisoners. These were tried and condemned, and all executed by order of the king, who was resolved to use no lenity to men of such desperate fortunes.

The young adventurer finding his hopes frustrated in the attempt, went next to try his fortune in Scotland. In that country his luck seemed greater than in England. James the Fourth, the king of that country, received him with great cordiality; he was seduced to believe the ſtory of his birth and adventures; and he carried his confidence so far, as to give him in marriage lady Catharine Gordon, daughter to the earl of Huntley, and a near kinswoman of his own; a young lady eminent for virtue as well as beauty. But not content with these instances of favour, he was resolved to attempt setting him on the throne of England. It was naturally expected, that upon Perkin's firſt appearance in that kingdom, all the friends of the house of York would rise in his favour. Upon this ground the king of Scotland entered England with a numerous army, and proclaimed the young adventurer wherever he went. But Perkin's pretenſions, attended by repeated disappointments, were now become ſtale, even

even in the eyes of the populace; so that, contrary to expectation, none were found to second his pretensions. Being disappointed in this, he once more returned to Edinburgh, where he continued to reside, till, upon the conclusion of a treaty of peace between the two kingdoms, he was once more obliged to leave Scotland, and to seek for a new protector.

In the mean time, Henry found little uneasiness at Perkin's irruption, as he was sensible it would serve him as a pretext to a demand for farther supplies from parliament, with which he knew they would readily comply. The vote was in fact easily enough obtained; but he found it not so easy to levy the money. The inhabitants of Cornwall were the first to refuse contributing supplies for the safety of the northern parts of the kingdom, which were so very remote from them. Their discontents were further inflamed by one Michael Joseph, a farrier of Bodmin, who had long been the spokesman of the multitude. To him was joined one Thomas Flammock, a lawyer; and, under the conduct of these two, the insurgents passed through the county of Devon, and reached that of Somerset, where they were joined by Lord Audley, a nobleman of an ancient family, popular in his deportment, but vain, ambitious, and restless in his temper. Thus headed, and breathing destruction to the king's commissioners, they marched with great speed towards London, without, however, committing any devastations by the way. At length, without receiving countenance or reinforcement on their march, they pitched their camp near Eltham, not far from London. Henry, whose courage and intrepidity were never to be moved, had

had some time before levied an army to oppose the Scots; and this he ordered southward to suppress the Cornish insurrection. On other occasions it was usual with him to hasten to a decision; and it was a saying with him, that he only desired to see his rebels; but as the present insurgents behaved in an inoffensive manner, he protracted his attack for some time, till at length it was begun by lord d'Aubigni, who, after some resistance, broke, and put them to flight. Lord Audley, Flammock, and Joseph, their leaders, were taken and executed; but the rest, to the number of sixteen thousand, were dismissed without further punishment.

In the mean time, the restless Perkin being dismissed Scotland, and meeting with a very cold reception from the Flemings, who now desired to be at peace with the English, resolved to continue his scheme of opposition; and once more took refuge among the wilds and fastnesses of Ireland. Impatient, however, of an inactive life, he held a consultation with his followers, Herne, Skelton, and Astley, three broken tradesmen: and by their advice he resolved to try the affections of the Cornish men, whose discontents the king's late lenity had only contributed to inflame. These were a tumultuous multitude, too ignorant for gratitude; and upon their return ascribed the royal clemency to fear, inducing their countrymen to believe that the whole kingdom was ready to rise to vindicate their quarrel. It was in consequence of these suggestions that they determined to send for Perkin to put himself at their head; and he no sooner made his appearance among them at Bodmin in Cornwall, than the populace, to the number of three A.D. 1497.

three thousand men, flocked to his standard. Elated with this appearance of success, he took on him, for the first time, the title of Richard the Fourth, king of England; and, not to suffer the spirits of his adherents to languish, he led them to the gates of Exeter. Finding the inhabitants obstinate in refusing to admit him, and being unprovided with artillery to force an entrance, he resolved to continue before it, until possessed of a sufficient force to make a farther progress into the kingdom. In the mean time, Henry being informed of his landing and his designs, expressed great joy upon the occasion, declaring that he should now have the pleasure of an interview with a person whom he long wished to see. All the courtiers, sensible of Perkin's desperate situation, and the general suspicion there was of their own fidelity, prepared themselves to assist the king with great alacrity. The lords d'Aubigni and Broke, the earl of Devonshire, and the duke of Buckingham, all appeared at the head of their respective forces, and seemed eager for an opportunity of displaying their courage and loyalty. Perkin being informed of these great preparations, broke up the siege of Exeter, and retired to Taunton. His followers by this time amounted to seven thousand men, and appeared ready to defend his cause; but his heart failed him; and, instead of bringing them into the field, he privately deserted them, and took sanctuary in the monastery of Beaulieu in the New Forest. His wretched adherents, left to the king's mercy, found him still willing to pardon; and, except a few of the ring-leaders, none were treated with capital severity. The lady Catharine Gordon, wife to Perkin,

Perkin, fell into the conqueror's hands, and was treated by him with all the lenity due to her sex and quality. She was placed in a reputable station near the person of the queen, and assigned a pension, which she enjoyed till her death. But the manner in which Perkin himself was to be treated appeared more doubtful. At first it was suggested by some, that he should be taken forcibly from the sanctuary to which he had fled, and made a public example; but Henry thought that milder methods would answer as well. He therefore employed some persons to treat with Perkin, and to persuade him, under promise of a pardon, to deliver himself up to justice, and to confess and explain all the circumstances of his imposture. His affairs being altogether desperate, he embraced the king's offers, without hesitation, and quitted the sanctuary. Henry being desirous of seeing him, he was brought to court, and conducted through the streets of London in a kind of mock triumph, amidst the derision and insults of the populace, which he bore with the most dignified resignation. He was then compelled to sign a confession of his former life and conduct, which was printed and dispersed throughout the nation; but it was so defective and contradictory, that instead of explaining the pretended imposture, it left it still more doubtful than before; and this youth's real pretensions are to this very day an object of dispute among the learned. However, though his life was granted him, he was still detained in custody, and keepers were appointed to watch over his conduct. But his impatience of any confinement could not be controuled; he broke loose from his keepers, and flying to the sanctuary of

Shyne, put himself in the hands of the prior of that monastery. He was once again prevailed on to trust himself to the king's mercy; but, in order to reduce him to the lowest state of contempt, he was set in the stocks at Westminster and Cheapside, and obliged to read aloud, in both places, the confession which had been formerly published in his name. From this place of scorn he was conveyed to the Tower, where it was thought the strength of his prison would be sufficient to restrain his restless active disposition; but nothing could repress his habits of inquietude. He had insinuated himself into the intimacy of four servants of the lieutenant of the Tower; and by their means opened a correA.D. 1499. spondence with the unfortunate Warwick, who had been confined there for many years before, and kept in a state of utter ignorance. In all probability, Perkin was permitted to enter into this correspondence with him by the connivance of the king, who hoped that his enterprising genius, and insinuating address, would engage the simple Warwick in some project that would furnish a pretext for taking away their lives, which accordingly happened. Perkin tampered with the servants, who, it is said, agreed to murder their master, and thus secure the gates of the Tower, by which the prisoners might make their escape to some secure part of the kingdom.

That the danger might appear more imminent and pressing, so as to justify the steps which Henry intended to take, another disturbance was raised at the same time in Kent, where a young man, called Ralph Wilford, the son of a cordwainer, personated the earl of Warwick, under the conduct and direction of one Patrick, an Augustine monk,

monk, who in his sermons exhorted the people to take arms in his favour. This friar, who had been used as a tool for the king's emissaries, was arrested, together with his pupil; and Wilford was hanged without ceremony, but the tutor obtained his pardon. This was the prelude to the fate of Perkin, and the earl of Warwick; the former of whom was tried at Westminster; and being convicted on the evidence of the servants of the Tower, was hanged at Tyburn with John Walter, mayor of Cork, who had constantly adhered to his cause in all the vicissitudes of his fortune. Blewet and Astwood, two of the servants, underwent the same fate; but six other persons, condemned as accomplices in the same conspiracy, were pardoned. In a few days after Perkin's execution, the wretched earl of Warwick was tried by his peers; and being convicted of high-treason, in consequence of pleading guilty to the arraignment, was beheaded on Tower Hill, and in him ended the last male branch of the house of Plantagenet. The deplorable end of this innocent nobleman, and the fate of Perkin, who, notwithstanding all that appeared against him, was, by the unprejudiced part of the nation, deemed the real son of king Edward, filled the whole kingdom with such aversion to the government of king Henry, that, to throw the odium from himself, he was obliged to lay it to the account of his ally, Ferdinand of Arragon, who, he said, scrupled his alliance while any prince of the house of York remained alive.

There had been hitherto nothing in this reign but plots, treasons, insurrections, impostures, and executions; and it is probable that Henry's

severity proceeded from the continual alarms in which they held him. It is certain that no prince ever loved peace more than he; and much of the ill-will of his subjects arose from his attempts to repress their inclinations for war. The usual preface to all his treaties was, "That when "Christ came into the world, peace was sung; "and when he went out of the world, peace was "bequeathed." He had no ambition to extend his power, except only by treaties and by wisdom: by these he rendered himself much more formidable to his neighbours than his predecessors had by their victories; they became terrible to their own subjects, he was chiefly dreaded by rival kings.

He had all along two points principally in view; one to repress the nobility and clergy, and the other to exalt and humanise the populace. From the ambition and turbulence of the former, and from the wretchedness and credulity of the latter, all the troubles in the former reigns had taken their original. In the feudal times, every nobleman was possessed of a certain number of subjects, over whom he had an absolute power; and, upon every slight disgust, he was able to influence them to join him in his revolt or disobedience. Henry, therefore, wisely considered, that the giving these petty tyrants a power of selling their estates, which before this time were unalienable, would greatly weaken their interest. With this view he procured an act, by which the nobility were granted a power of disposing of their estates; a law infinitely pleasing to the commons, and not disagreeable even to the nobles, since they had thus an immediate resource for supplying their taste for prodigalit

digality, and answering the demands of their creditors. The blow reached them in their posterity alone; but they were too ignorant to be affected by such distant distresses.

His next scheme was to prevent their giving liveries to many hundreds of their dependents, who were thus retained to serve their lord, and kept like the soldiers of a standing army, to be ready at the command of their leader. By an act passed in this reign, none but menial servants were permitted to wear a livery, under severe penalties; and this law was enforced with the most punctual observance. The king one day paying a visit to the earl of Oxford, was entertained by him with all possible splendor and hospitality. When he was ready to depart, he saw ranged upon both sides a great number of men dressed up in very rich liveries, apparently to do him honour. The king, surprised at such a number of servants, as he pretended to suppose them, asked lord Oxford whether he entertained such a large number of domestics; to which the earl, not perceiving the drift of the question, replied that they were only men whom he kept in pay to do him honour upon such occasions. At this the king started back, and said, "By my faith, my lord, I thank you for your "good cheer; but I must not suffer to have the "laws broken before my face; my attorney-ge-"neral must talk with you." Oxford is said to have paid no less than fifteen thousand marks as a compensation for his offence.

We have already seen, in a thousand instances, what a perverted use was made of monasteries, and other places appropriated to religious wor-

ship, by the number of criminals who found sanctuary and protection there. This privilege the clergy assumed as their undoubted right; and those places of pretended sanctity were now become the abode of murderers, robbers, and conspirators. Witches and magicians were the only persons that were forbid to avail themselves of the security these sanctuaries afforded; and they whose crimes were only fictitious, were the only people who had not the benefit of such a retreat. Henry used all his interest with the pope to get these sanctuaries abolished; but was not able to succeed. All that he could procure was, that if thieves, murderers, or robbers, registered as sanctuary men, should sally out, and commit fresh offences, and retreat again, in such cases they might be taken out of the sanctuary, and delivered up to justice.

Henry was not remiss in abridging the pope's power, while at the same time he professed the utmost submission to his commands, and the greatest respect for the clergy. The pope at one time was so far imposed upon by his seeming attachment to the church, that he even invited him to renew the crusades for recovering the Holy Land. Henry's answer deserves to be remembered. He assured his holiness that no prince in Christendom would be more forward to undertake so glorious and necessary an expedition; but as his dominions lay very distant from Constantinople, it would be better to apply to the kings of France and Spain for their assistance; and in the mean time he would go to their aid himself, as soon as all the differences between the Christian princes should be brought to an end.

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This was at once a polite refusal, and an oblique reproach.

But while he thus employed his power in lowering the influence of the nobles and clergy, he was using every art to extend the privileges of the people. In former reigns they were sure to suffer on whatever side they fought, when they were unsuccessful. This rendered each party desperate in a declared civil war, as no hopes of pardon remained, and consequently terrible slaughters were seen to ensue. He therefore procured an act, by which it was established, that no person should be impeached or attainted for assisting the king for the time being, or, in other words, the sovereign who should be then actually in possession of the throne. This excellent statute served to repress the desire of civil war, as several would naturally take arms in defence of that side on which they were certain of losing nothing by a defeat; and numbers would serve to intimidate rebellion. Thus the common people, no longer maintained in vicious idleness by their superiors, were obliged to become industrious for their support. The nobility, instead of vying with each other in the number and boldness of their retainers, acquired by degrees a more civilised species of emulation; and endeavoured to excel in the splendor and elegance of their equipages, houses, and tables. In fact, the king's greatest efforts were directed to promote trade and commerce, because this naturally introduces a spirit of liberty among the people, and disengaged them from all dependence, except upon the laws and the king. Before this great æra, all our towns owed their original to some strong castle in the neighbour-

hood, where some powerful lord generally resided. These were at once fortresses for protection, and prisons for all sorts of criminals. In this castle there was usually a garrison armed and provided, depending entirely on the nobleman's support and assistance. To these seats of protection, artificers, victuallers, and shop-keepers, naturally resorted, and settled on some adjacent spot to furnish the lord and his attendants with all the necessaries they might require. The farmers also, and the husbandmen in the neighbourhood, built their houses there, to be protected against the numerous gangs of robbers, called Robertsmen, that hid themselves in the woods by day, and infested the open country by night. Henry endeavoured to bring the towns from such a neighbourhood, by inviting the inhabitants to a more commercial situation. He attempted to teach them frugality, and a just payment of debts, by his own example; and never once omitted the rights of the merchant, in all his treaties with foreign princes.

But it must not be concealed, that, from a long contemplation upon the relative advantages of money, he at last grew into an habit of considering it as valuable for itself alone. As he grew old his avarice seemed to preponderate over his ambition; and the methods he took to increase his treasures cannot be justified by his most ardent admirers. He had found two ministers, Empson and Dudley, perfectly qualified to second his avaricious intentions. They were both lawyers; the first of mean birth, brutal manners, and an unrelenting temper; the second, better born, and better bred, but equally severe and inflexible. It was their usual practice to commit,

commit, by indictment, such persons to prison as they intended to oppress: from whence they seldom got free, but by paying heavy fines, which were called mitigations and compositions. By degrees, as they were grown more hardened in oppression, the very forms of law were omitted; they determined in a summary way upon the properties of the subject, and confiscated their effects to the royal treasury. But the chief instruments of oppression employed by these ministers were the penal statutes, which, without consideration of rank, quality, or services, were rigidly put in execution against all men.

In this manner was the latter part of this active monarch's reign employed in schemes to strengthen the power of the crown, by amassing money, and extending the power of the people. He had the satisfaction about that time of completing a marriage between Arthur, the prince of Wales, and the infanta Catharine of Spain, which had been projected and negotiated during the course of seven years. But this marriage proved, in the event, unprosperous. The young prince sickened and died in a few months after, very much regretted by the whole nation; and the princess was obliged shortly after to marry his second son Henry, who was created prince of Wales in the room of his brother. The prince himself made all the opposition which a youth of twelve years of age was capable of; but as the king persisted in his resolution, the marriage was, by the pope's dispensation, shortly after solemnised. A.D. 1500.

The magnificence of these nuptials was soon after eclipsed by the accidental arrival of Philip, the

the arch-duke of Castile, with Joan his consort. These personages had embarked for Spain during the winter season, in order to take the advantage of an invitation, which the people of that country had offered, to place them upon the Spanish throne. Meeting, however, with a violent tempest in their voyage, they were obliged to take shelter in Weymouth harbour, where they were honourably received by sir John Trenchard, a gentleman of authority in the county of Dorset. The king soon after being
A. D. 1506. informed of their arrival, sent in all haste the earl of Arundel to compliment them on their safe escape, and to inform them that he intended shortly paying them a visit in person. Philip knew that this was but a polite method of detaining him; and, for the sake of dispatch, he resolved to anticipate his visit, and to have an interview with him at Windsor. Henry received him with all the magnificence possible, and with all seeming cordiality; but was resolved to reimburse himself for the expense of his pageants, by advantages that would be more substantially conducive to his own interests, and those of the nation. There had been some years before a plot carried on against him by the earl of Suffolk; for which sir James Tyrrel and sir James Windham had been condemned and executed, while Suffolk, the original contriver, had made his escape into the Low Countries, where he found protection from Philip. But he was now given up at Henry's request, and, being brought over to England, he was imprisoned in the Tower. A treaty of commerce was also agreed upon between the two sovereigns; which was at that time

time of the greatest benefit to England, and continues to remain as the ground-work of all other commercial treaties to this day.

Henry having thus seen England in a great measure civilised by his endeavours, his people pay their taxes without constraint, the nobles confessing a just subordination, the laws alone inflicting punishment, the towns beginning to live independent of the powerful, commerce every day increasing, the spirit of faction extinguished, and foreigners either fearing England or seeking its alliance, he began to perceive the approaches of his end. He then resolved to reconcile himself to heaven; and by distributing alms, founding religious houses, and granting a general pardon to all his subjects, to make an atonement for the errors of his reign. It was in this disposition that he died with the gout in the stomach, having lived fifty-two years, and reigned twenty-three. Since the times of Alfred, England had not seen such another king. He rendered his subjects powerful and happy, and wrought a greater change in the manners of the people than it was possible to suppose could be effected in so short a time. If he had any fault that deserves to be marked with reproach, it was that, having begun his reign with œconomy, as he grew old his desires seemed to change their object from the use of money to the pleasure of hoarding it. But he ought in this to be pardoned, as he only saved for the public; the royal coffers being then the holy treasury of the state; and in proportion to the king's finances, the public might be said to be either rich or indigent. A.D. 1509.

About this time all Europe, as well as England, seemed to rouse from the long lethargy during

during which it continued for above twelve hundred years. France, Spain, Portugal, and Sweden, enjoyed excellent monarchs, who encouraged and protected the rising arts, and spread the means of happiness. The Portuguese sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, under the command of Vasquez de Gama; and the Spaniards, under the conduct of Columbus, had made the discovery of the new world of America. It was by accident only that Henry had not a considerable share in these great naval discoveries; for Columbus, after meeting with many repulses from the courts of Portugal and Spain, sent his brother Bartholomew into England, in order to explain his projects to the king, and to crave his protection for the execution of them. Henry invited Columbus to England; but his brother, in returning, being taken by pirates, was detained in his voyage; and Columbus, in the mean time, succeeding with Isabella, happily effected his enterprise. Henry was not discouraged by this disappointment; he fitted out Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian, dwelling at Bristol, and sent
A.D. 1498. him westward in search of new countries. This adventurer discovered the main land of America to the North; then sailed Southward, along the coast, and discovered Newfoundland and other countries; but returned without making any settlement. The king, soon after, expended fourteen thousand pounds in building one ship, called the GREAT HARRY. This was, properly speaking, the first ship in the English navy. Before this period, when the king wanted a fleet, he had no other expedient but to hire ships from the merchants.



CHAP. XXIII.

HENRY VIII.

NO prince ever came to the throne with a conjuncture of circumstances more in his favour than Henry VIII. who now, in the eighteenth year of his age, undertook the government of the kingdom. His prudent father left him a peaceful throne, a well-stored treasury, and an undisputed succession. By his father's side he claimed from the house of Lancaster, and by his mother's from that of York. He was in friendship with all the powers of Europe, and his subjects were every day growing more powerful and more wealthy; commerce and arts had for some A. D. 1509.

some time been introduced into the kingdom, and the English seemed willing to give them a favourable reception. The young king himself was beautiful in person, expert in polite exercises, open and liberal in his air, and loved by all his subjects. The old king, who was himself a scholar, had him instructed in all the learning of the times; so that he was an adept in school divinity before the age of eighteen.

But, favourable as these circumstances were, Henry soon showed that they went but a short way in forming a good character; they were merely the gifts of nature, or accomplishments implanted by the assiduity of his father; but he wanted the more solid advantages, which were to be of his own formation, a good heart, and a sound understanding. The learning he had, if it may deserve that appellation, served only to inflame his pride, but not controul his vicious affections; the love of his subjects broke out in their flattery, and this was another meteor to lead him astray. His vast wealth, instead of relieving the public, or increasing his power, only contributed to supply his debaucheries, or gratify the rapacity of the ministers of his pleasures. But it had been happy for his people if his faults had rested here; he was a tyrant; humanity takes the alarm at his cruelties; and however fortunate some of his measures might prove in the event, no good man but must revolt at his motives, and the means he took for their accomplishment.

The first action which showed that the present reign was to be very different from the former, was the punishment of Empson and Dudley, who were obnoxious to the populace for having been

been the ready instruments of the late king's rapacity. They were immediately cited before the council, in order to answer for their conduct; but Empson, in his defence, alleged that so far from deserving censure for his past conduct, he was confident his actions rather merited reward and approbation. Though a strict execution of the law was the crime of which he and Dudley were accused; although these laws had been established by the voluntary consent of the people; notwithstanding all their expostulations, Empson and Dudley were sent to the Tower, and soon after brought to their trial. As the strict discharge of their duty, in executing the laws, could not be alleged against them as a crime, to gratify the people with their punishment, they were accused of having entered into a conspiracy against the present king; and of intentions to seize, by force, the administration of government. Nothing could be more improbable and unsupported than such a charge; nevertheless the jury were so far infected with popular prejudice, that they gave a verdict against them; and they were both executed some time after, by a warrant from the king.

This measure, which betrayed an unjust compliance with popular clamour, was followed by another still more detrimental to the nation, although still more pleasing to the people. Julius the Second was at that time pope, and had filled all Europe with his intrigues and ambition; but his chief resentment was levelled against Lewis, king of France, who was in possession of some valuable provinces of Italy, from which he hoped, by his intrigues, to remove him. For this purpose he entered into a treaty with Ferdinand,

mand, king of Spain, and Henry of England; to each of whom he offered such advantages as were most likely to inflame their ambition, in case they fell upon Lewis on their respective quarters; while he undertook himself to find him employment in Italy. Henry, who had no other motives but the glory of the expedition, and the hopes of receiving the title of the Most Christian King, which the pope assured him would soon be wrested from Lewis, to be conferred upon him, readily undertook to defend his cause; and his parliament being summoned, as readily granted supplies for a purpose so much favoured by the people. The spirit of chivalry and foreign conquest was not yet quite extinguished in England; the kingdom of France was still an object they desired to posess, and Henry, in compliance with their wishes, gave out that he intended striking for the crown. It was in vain that one of his old prudent counsellors objected, that conquests on the continent would only drain the kingdom, without enriching it; and that England, from its situation, was not fitted to enjoy extensive empire: the young king, deaf to all remonstrances, and burning with military ardour, resolved to undertake the war. The marquis of Dorset was first sent over, with a large body of forces, to Fontarabia, to assist the operations of Ferdinand; but that faithless and crafty monarch had no intentions of effectually seconding their attempts, wherefore they were obliged to return home without effect.

A considerable fleet was equipped, some time after, to annoy the enemy by sea, and the command intrusted to sir Edward Howard; who, after

after scouring the Channel for some time, presented himself before Brest, where the French navy lay, and challenged them to combat. As the French were unequal to the enemy, they determined to wait for a reinforcement, which they expected, under the command of Prejeant de Bidoux, from the Mediterranean. But in this the gallant Howard was resolved to disappoint them; and, upon the appearance of Prejeant with six gallies, who had time to take refuge behind some batteries which were planted on the rocks that lay on each side him, he boldly rowed up with two gallies, followed by barges filled with officers of distinction. Upon coming up to Prejeant's ship, he immediately fastened upon it, and leaped on board, followed by one Carroz, a Spanish cavalier, and seventeen Englishmen. The cable, mean while, which fastened both ships together, was cut by the enemy, and the admiral was thus left in the hands of the French; but as he still continued to fight with great gallantry, he was pushed overboard by their pikes, and perished in the sea. Upon this misfortune the fleet retired from before Brest, and the French navy, for a while, kept possession of the sea.

This slight repulse only served to inflame the king's ardour to take revenge upon the enemy; and he soon after sent a body of eight thousand men to Calais, under the command of the earl of Shrewsbury; and another body of six thousand followed shortly after, under the conduct of lord Herbert. He prepared to follow himself with the main body and rear, and arrived at Calais, attended by numbers of the English nobility. But he soon had an attendant, who did him still more honour. This was no less a personage than

Maximilian, emperor of Germany, who had stipulated to assist him with eight thousand men, but, being unable to perform his engagements, joined the English army with some German and Flemish soldiers, who were useful in giving an example of discipline to Henry's new levied soldiers. He even enlisted himself in the English service, wore the cross of St. George, and received pay, a hundred crowns per day, as one of Henry's subjects and captains.

Henry being now at the head of a formidable army, fifty thousand strong, it was supposed that France must fall a victim to his ambition. But that kingdom was not threatened by him alone; the Swiss, on another quarter, with twenty-five thousand men, were preparing to invade it; while Ferdinand of Arragon, whom no treaties could bind, was only waiting for a convenient opportunity of attack on his side to advantage. Never was the French monarchy in so distressed a situation; but the errors of its assailants procured its safety. The Swiss entered into a treaty with Trimouille, the French general, who gave them their own terms, satisfied that his master would rescind them all, as not having given him any powers to treat; Ferdinand continued to remain a quiet spectator, vainly waiting for some effectual blow to be struck by his allies; and Henry spent his time in the siege of towns, which could neither secure his conquests, nor advance his reputation.

The first of these was Terouenne, a little town situated on the frontiers of Picardy, which kept him employed for more than a month, although the garrison scarce amounted to a thousand men. The besieged, after some time, falling short of

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provisions, a very bold and desperate attempt was made to supply them, which was attended with success. A French captain, whose name was Fontrailles, led up a body of eighteen hundred men, each of whom carried a bag of gunpowder and two quarters of bacon behind him. With this small force he made a fierce and unexpected irruption into the English camp; and, surmounting all resistance, advanced to the ditch of the town, where each horseman threw down his burthen. Then immediately returning upon the gallop, they were again so fortunate as to break through the English without any great loss in the undertaking. But the party of horse that was sent to cover the retreat was not so successful. Though this body of troops was commanded by the boldest and bravest captains of the French army, yet on sight of the English they were seized with such an unaccountable panic, that they immediately fled, and had many of their best officers taken prisoners. This action was called by the French the battle of Guinegate, from the place where it was fought; but by the English, the battle of the Spurs, as the French, upon that day, made more use of their spurs than their swords, to procure safety.

After this victory, which might have been followed with very important consequences, had the victors marched forward to Paris, Henry sat down to make sure of the little town which had made such an obstinate resistance; and found himself, when it was obliged to surrender, master of a place, which neither recompensed the blood nor the delay that were expended in the siege.

From one error Henry went on to another. He was persuaded to lay siege to Tournay, a great

and rich city of Flanders, which at that time was in possession of the French. This siege, though it took up little time, yet served to retard the great object, which was the conquest of France; and Henry hearing that the Swiss were returned home, and being elated with his trifling successes, resolved to transport his army back to England, where flattery was put to the torture, to make him happy in the glory of his ridiculous expedition. A truce was concluded soon after between the two kingdoms; and Henry continued to dissipate, in more peaceful follies, those immense sums which had been amassed by his predecessor for very different purposes.

The success which, during his foreign expedition, attended his arms in the North of England, was much more important and decisive. A war having been declared between the English and Scots, who ever took the opportunity to fall on when their neighbours were embroiled with France, the king of that country summoned out the whole force of his kingdom; and having passed the Tweed with a body of fifty thousand men, ravaged those parts of Northumberland which lay along the banks of that river. But as his forces were numerous, and the country barren, he soon began to want provisions; so that many of his men deserted and returned to their native country. In the mean time the earl of Surry, at the head of twenty-six thousand men, approached the Scots, who were encamped on a rising ground, near the hills of Cheviot. The river Till ran between both armies, and prevented an engagement; wherefore the earl of Surry sent a herald to the Scots' camp, challenging the enemy to descend into the plain, which lay to

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the south, and there to try their valour on equal ground. This offer not being accepted, he made a feint, as if he intended marching towards Berwick; which putting the Scots in motion to annoy his rear, he took advantage of a great smoke caused by the firing their huts, and passed the little river, which had hitherto prevented the engagement. Both armies now perceiving that a combat was inevitable, they prepared for the onset with great composure and regularity. The English divided their army into two lines; lord Howard led the main body of the first line; sir Edmund Howard the right wing, and sir Marmaduke Constable the left; the earl of Surry himself commanded the main body of the second line, assisted by lord Dacres and sir Edward Stanley to the right and the left. The Scots, on the other hand, presented three divisions to the enemy; the middle commanded by the king himself, the right by the earl of Huntley, and the left by the earls of Lenox and Argyle; a fourth division, under the earl of Bothwell, made a body of reserve. Lord Huntley began the onset, charging the division of lord Howard with such fury, that it was immediately put to confusion, and routed. But this division was so seasonably supported by lord Dacres, that the men rallied, and the battle became general. Both sides fought a long time with incredible impetuosity, until the Highlanders, being galled by the English artillery, broke in sword in hand upon the main body, commanded by the earl of Surry; and at the head of these, James fought with the most forward of the nobility. They attacked with such velocity, that the hinder line could not advance in time to sustain them, so that a body of Eng-

lish intercepted their retreat. James being thus almost surrounded by the enemy, refused to quit the field, while it was yet in his power; but, alighting from his horse, formed his little body into an orb, and in this posture fought with such desperate courage, as restored the battle. The English therefore were again obliged to have recourse to their artillery and arrows, which made a terrible havock; but night separating the combatants, it was not till the day following that lord Howard perceived that he had gained a great and glorious victory. The English had lost no persons of note; but the whole flower of the Scots' nobility were fallen in battle. Ten thousand of the common men were cut off; and a body, supposed to be that of the king, was sent to London, where it remained unburied, as a sentence of excommunication still remained against James for having leagued with France against the Holy See. But upon Henry's application, who pretended that that prince in the instant before his death had discovered some signs of repentance, absolution was given him, and the body was interred. However, the populace of Scotland still continued to think their king alive; and it was given out among them that he had secretly gone on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

These successes only served to intoxicate Henry still the more; and while his pleasure, on the one hand, engrossed his time, the preparations for repeated expeditions exhausted his treasures. As it was natural to suppose the old ministers, who were appointed to direct him by his father, would not willingly concur in these idle projects, Henry had, for some time, discontinued

continued asking their advice, and chiefly confided in the counsels of Thomas, afterwards cardinal Wolsey, who seemed to second him in his favourite pursuits. Wolsey was a minister who complied with all his master's inclinations, and flattered him in every scheme to which his sanguine and impetuous temper was inclined. He was the son of a private gentleman, and not of a butcher, as is commonly reported, of Ipswich. He was sent to Oxford so early, that he was a bachelor at fourteen, and at that time was called the boy bachelor. He rose by degrees, upon quitting college, from one preferment to another, till he was made rector of Lymington by the marquis of Dorset, whose children he had instructed. He had not long resided at this living, when one of the justices of the peace put him in the stocks for being drunk, and raising disturbances at a neighbouring fair. This disgrace, however, did not retard his promotion; for he was recommended as chaplain to Henry the Seventh; and being employed by that monarch in a secret negotiation respecting his intended marriage with Margaret of Savoy, he acquitted himself to that king's satisfaction, and obtained the praise both of diligence and dexterity. That prince having given him a commission to Maximilian, who at that time resided at Brussels, was surprised in less than three weeks after to see Wolsey present himself before him; and, supposing that he had been delinquent, began to reprove his delay. Wolsey, however, surprised him with assurance that he was just returned from Brussels, and had successfully fulfilled all his majesty's commands. His dispatch on that occasion procured him the deanery of Lincoln; and in this situation it was that he was

introduced by Fox, bishop of Winchester, to the young king's notice, in hopes that he would have talents to supplant the earl of Surry, who was favourite at that time; and in this Fox was not out in his conjectures. Presently after being introduced at court, he was made a privy counsellor; and, as such, had frequent opportunities of ingratiating himself with the young king, as he appeared at once complying, submissive, and enterprising. Wolsey used every art to suit himself to the royal temper; he sung, laughed, and danced with every libertine of the court; neither his own years, which were near forty, nor his character of a clergyman, were any restraint upon him, or tended to check, by ill-timed severities, the gaiety of his companions. To such a weak and vicious monarch as Henry, qualities of this nature were highly pleasing; and Wolsey was soon acknowledged as his favourite, and to him was intrusted the chief administration of affairs. The people began to see with indignation the new favourite's mean condescensions to the king, and his arrogance to themselves. They had long regarded the vicious haughtiness, and the unbecoming splendor of the clergy, with envy and detestation; and Wolsey's greatness served to bring a new odium upon that body, already too much the object of the people's dislike. His character being now placed in a more conspicuous point of light, daily began to manifest itself the more. Insatiable in his acquisitions, but still more magnificent in his expense; of extensive capacity, but still more unbounded in enterprise; ambitious of power, but still more desirous of glory; insinuating, engaging, persuasive, and at other times lofty, elevated, and commanding; haughty to his equals, but affable

affable to his dependents; oppressive to the people, but liberal to his friends; more generous than grateful; formed to take the ascendant in every intercourse, but vain enough not to cover his real superiority.

He had been advanced soon to the bishoprick of Lincoln; but this he afterwards resigned, upon being promoted to the archbishoprick of York. Upon the capture of Tournay, he had been promoted to the see of that place; but besides, he got possession, at very low leases, of the revenues of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, bishopricks filled by Italians, who were allowed to reside abroad, and who were glad to compound for this indulgence, by parting with a considerable share of their profits. Besides many other church-preferments, he was allowed to unite with the see of York, first that of Durham, next that of Winchester; and his appetite seemed to increase, by the means that were taken to satisfy it. The pope, observing his great influence over the king, was desirous of engaging him in his interests, and created him a cardinal. His train consisted of eight hundred servants, of whom many were knights and gentlemen. Some even of the nobility put their children into his family as a place of education; and whoever were distinguished by any art or science, paid court to the cardinal, and were often liberally rewarded. He was the first clergyman in England who wore silk and gold, not only on his habit, but also on his saddles, and the trappings of his horses. A.D. 1515.

Besides these various distinctions, the pope soon after conferred upon him that of legate, designing thus to make him instrumental in draining the kingdom of money upon pretence of employing

ploying it in a war against the Turks, but in reality with a view to fill his own coffers. In this he so well served the court of Rome, that some time after the post of legate was conferred upon him for life; and he now united in his person the promotions of legate, cardinal, archbishop, and prime minister.

Soon after Warham, chancellor, and archbishop of Canterbury, a man of a very moderate temper, chose rather to retire from public employment than maintain an unequal contest with the haughty cardinal. Wolsey instantly seized on the chancellorship, and exercised the duties of that employment with great abilities and impartiality. The duke of Norfolk finding the king's treasures exhausted, and his taste for expense still continuing, was glad to resign his office of treasurer, and retire from court. Fox, bishop of Winchester, who had first been instrumental in Wolsey's rise, withdrew himself in disgust; the duke of Suffolk also went home with a resolution to remain private; whilst Wolsey availed himself of their discontents, and filled up their places by his creatures, or his personal assiduity. These were vast stretches of power; and yet the churchman was still insatiable. He procured a bull from the pope, empowering him to make knights and counts, to legitimate bastards, to give degrees in arts, law, physic, and divinity, and to grant all sorts of dispensations. So much pride and power could not avoid giving high offence to the nobility: yet none dared vent their indignation; so greatly were they in terror of his vindictive temper.

In order to divert their envy from his inordinate exaltation, he soon entered into a correspondence

dence with Francis the First, of France, who had taken many methods to work upon his vanity, and at last succeeded. In consequence of that monarch's wishes, Henry was persuaded by the cardinal to deliver up Tournay once more to the French; and he also agreed to an interview with that monarch. This expensive congress was held between Guisnes and Ardres, near Calais, within the English pale, in compliment to Henry for crossing the sea. The two monarchs, after saluting each other in the most cordial manner, retired into a tent erected for the purpose, where Henry proceeded to read the articles of their intended alliance. As he began to read the first words of it, "I, Henry, king," he stopt a moment, and then subjoined only "of England," without adding France, the usual style of English monarchs. Francis remarked this delicacy, and expressed his approbation by a smile. Nothing could exceed the magnificence of the nobility of both courts on this occasion. Many of them involved themselves in large debts; and the penury of a life was scarce sufficient to reimburse the extravagance of a few days. Beside, there at first appeared something low and illiberal in the mutual distrusts that were conspicuous on this occasion: the two kings never met without having the number of their guards counted on both sides; every step was carefully adjusted; they passed each other in the middle point between both places, when they went to visit their queens; and at the same instant that Henry entered Ardres, Francis put himself into the hands of the English at Guisnes. But Francis, who is considered as the first restorer of true politeness in Europe, put an end to this low

low and illiberal method of conversing. Taking one day with him two gentlemen and a page, he rode directly into Guisnes, crying out to the English guards, that they were their prisoners, and desiring to be carried to their master. Henry was not a little astonished at the appearance of Francis; and taking him in his arms, "My "brother," said he, "you have here given me the "most agreeable surprise; you have shown me "the full confidence I may place in you; I "surrender myself your prisoner from this mo-"ment." He then took from his neck a collar of pearls, of great value, and putting it on Francis, begged him to wear it for the sake of his prisoner. Francis agreed; and giving him a bracelet of double the value of the former, insisted on his wearing it in turn. Henry went the next day to Ardres, without guards or attendants; and confidence being now sufficiently established between these monarchs, they employed the rest of the time in feasts and tournaments.

A. D. 1520. Some months before, a defiance had been sent by the two kings to each other's court, and through all the chief cities of Europe, importing, that Henry and Francis, with fourteen aids, would be ready in the plains of Picardy to answer all comers that were gentlemen, at tilt and tourney. Accordingly, the monarchs now, gorgeously appareled, entered the lists on horseback; Francis surrounded with Henry's guards, and Henry with those of Francis. They were both at that time the most comely personages of their age, and prided themselves on their expertness in the military exercises. The ladies were the judges in these feats of chivalry; and they put an end to the encounter whenever they thought proper.

proper. It is supposed that the crafty French monarch was willing to gratify Henry's vanity by allowing him to enjoy a petty pre-eminence in these pastimes. He ran a tilt against Monsieur Grandeval, whom he disabled at the first encounter. He engaged Monsieur de Montmorency, whom, however, he could not throw from the saddle. He fought at faulchion with a French nobleman, who presented him with his courser, in token of submission.

But these empty splendors were not sufficient to appease the jealousy of the nobles at home, or quiet the murmurs of the people. Among these, the duke of Buckingham, the son of him who lost his life in the reign of Richard the Third, was the foremost to complain. He had often been heard to treat the cardinal's pride and profusion with just contempt; and carrying his resentment perhaps to an improper length, some low informers took care that Wolsey should be apprised of all. The substance of his impeachment was, that he had consulted a fortune-teller concerning his succession to the crown, and had affected to make himself popular. This was but a weak pretext to take away the life of a nobleman, whose father had died in defence of the late king; but he was brought to a trial; and the duke of Norfolk, whose son had married his daughter, was created lord high-steward, to preside at this solemn procedure. He was condemned to die as a traitor, by a jury, consisting of a duke, a marquis, seven earls, and twelve barons. When the sentence was pronouncing against him, and the high-steward came to mention the word traitor, the unhappy prisoner could not contain his indignation. "My lords," cried he to the judges,

judges, "I am no traitor; and for what you "have now done against me, take my sincere for- "giveness; as for my life, I think it not worth "petitioning for; may God forgive you, and pity "me." He was soon after executed on Tower-hill.

By this time all the immense treasures of the late king were quite exhausted on empty pageants, guilty pleasures, or vain treaties and expeditions. But the king relied on Wolsey alone for replenishing his coffers; and no person could be fitter for the purpose. His first care was to get a large sum of money from the people, under the title of a benevolence, which added to its being extorted the mortification of being considered as a free gift. Henry little minded the manner of its being raised, provided he had the enjoyment of it; however, his minister met with some opposition in his attempts to levy these extorted contributions. In the first place, having exacted a considerable subsidy from the clergy, he next addressed himself to the house of commons; but they only granted him half the supplies he demanded. Wolsey was at first highly offended at their parsimony, and desired to be heard in the house; but as this would have destroyed the very form and constitution of that august body, they replied, that none could be permitted to sit and argue there but such as had been elected members. This was the first attempt made in this reign to render the king master of the debates in parliament. Wolsey first paved the way; and, unfortunately for the kingdom, Henry too well improved upon his plans soon after.

A treaty with France, which threatened to make

make a breach with the emperor, induced Henry to wish for new supplies; or at least he made this the pretext of his demands. But as the parliament had testified their reluctance to indulge his wishes, he followed the advice of Wolsey, and resolved to make use of his prerogative alone for that purpose. He issued out commissions to all the counties of England for levying four shillings in the pound upon the clergy, and three shillings and four pence from the laity; nor did he attempt to cover the violence of the measure by giving it the name either of benevolence or loan. This unwarrantable stretch of royal power was quickly opposed by the people; they were unwilling to submit to impositions unknown till now; and a general insurrection threatened to ensue. Henry had the prudence to stop short in that dangerous path into which he had entered; and declared, by circular letters to all the counties, that what was demanded was only by way of benevolence. But the spirit of opposition, once roused, was not so easily quieted; the citizens of London hesitated on the demand; and in some parts of the country insurrections were actually begun, which were suppressed by the duke of Suffolk. These imposts, which were first advised by Wolsey, not happily succeeding, he began to lose a little of his favour with the king; and this displeasure was still more increased by the complaints of the clergy, who accused him of extortion. Henry reproved Wolsey, in severe terms; which rendered him more cautious and artful for the future. As an instance of his cunning, having built a noble palace, called York-place, at Westminster, for his own use, fearing now the general censure against him, he made a present of it to the king, assuring him that

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from the first he intended it as an offer to his majesty. Thus Wolsey's impunity only served to pave the way to greater extortions. The pride of this prelate was great; but his riches were still greater. In order to have a pretext for amassing such sums, he undertook to found two new colleges in Oxford, for which he received every day fresh grants from the pope and the king. To execute this favourite scheme, he obtained a liberty of suppressing several monasteries, and converting their revenues to the benefit of his new foundation. Whatever might have been the pope's inducement to grant him these privileges, nothing could be more fatal to the pontiff's interests; for Henry was thus himself taught shortly afterwards to imitate what he had seen a subject perform with impunity.

Hitherto the administration of all affairs was carried on by Wolsey; for the king was contented to lose, in the embraces of his mistresses, all the complaints of his subjects; and the cardinal undertook to keep him ignorant, in order to continue his own uncontrouled authority. But now a period was approaching, that was to put an end to this minister's exorbitant power. One of the most extraordinary and important revolutions that ever employed the attention of man, was now ripe for execution. This was no less a change than the Reformation; to have an idea of the rise of which, it will be proper to take a cursory view of the state of the church at that time, and to observe by what seemingly contradictory means Providence produces the most happy events.

The church of Rome had now, for more than a thousand years, been corrupting the ancient simplicity of the gospel, and converting into a tem-

temporality the kingdom of another world. The popes had been frequently seen at the head of their own armies, fighting for their dominions with the arm of flesh, and forgetting, in cruelty and detestable maxims of state, all the pretended sanctity of their characters. The cardinals, prelates, and dignitaries of the church, lived in envied splendour, were served like voluptuous princes, and some of them were found to possess eight or nine bishopricks at once. Wherever the church governed, it exerted that power with cruelty; so that to their luxuries were usually added the crime of tyranny too. As for the inferior clergy, both popish and protestant writers exclaim against their abandoned and dissolute morals. They publicly kept mistresses, and bequeathed to their illegitimate children whatever they were able to save from their pleasures, or extort from the poor. There is still to be seen a will made by a bishop of Cambray, in which he sets aside a certain sum for the bastards he has had already, and those which, by the blessing of God, he may yet happen to have. In many parts of England and Germany, the people obliged their priests to have concubines; so that the laity might preserve their wives with greater security; while at the same time the poor laborious peasant and artisan saw all the fruits of their toil go, not to clothe and maintain their own little families, but to pamper men who insulted them with lectures, to which their example appeared a flat contradiction. But the vices of the clergy were not greater than their ignorance; few of them knew the meaning of their Latin mass. Their sagacity was chiefly employed in finding out witches, and exorcising the possessed;

but what most increased the hatred of the people against them was the selling pardons and absolutions for sin at certain stated prices. A deacon, or subdeacon, who committed murder, was absolved from his crime, and allowed to possess three benefices upon paying twenty crowns. A bishop or abbot might commit murder for about ten pounds of our money. Every crime had its stated value; and absolutions were given for sins not only already committed, but such as should be committed hereafter. The wisest of the people looked with silent detestation on these impositions; and the ignorant themselves, whom fortune seemed to have formed for slavery, began to open their eyes to such glaring absurdities.

These vices and impositions were now almost come to a head; and the increase of arts and learning among the laity, propagated by means of printing, which had been lately invented, began to make them resist that power which was originally founded on deceit. Leo the Tenth
A. D. 1519. was at that time pope, and eagerly employed in building the church of St. Peter at Rome. In order to procure money for carrying on that expensive undertaking, he gave a commission for selling indulgences, a practice that had been often tried before. These were to free the purchaser from the pains of purgatory; and they would serve even for one's friends, if purchased with that intention. There were every where shops opened where they were to be sold; but in general they were to be had at taverns, brothels, and gaming houses. The Augustine friars had usually been employed in Saxony to preach the indulgences, and from this trust had derived both profit and consideration; but the pope's

pope's minister, supposing that they had found out illicit methods of secreting the money, transferred the lucrative employment from them to the Dominicans. Martin Luther, professor in the university of Wirtemberg, was an Augustine monk, and one of those who resented this transfer of the sale of indulgences from one order to another. He began to show his indignation by preaching against their efficacy; and being naturally of a fiery temper, and provoked by opposition, he enveighed against the authority of the pope himself. Being driven hard by his adversaries, still as he enlarged his reading, in order to support his tenets, he discovered some new abuse or error in the church of Rome. The people, who had long groaned under the papal tyranny, heard his discourses with pleasure, and defended him against the authority and machinations of his enemies. Frederic, elector of Saxony, surnamed the Wise, openly protected him; the republic of Zurich even reformed their church according to the new model; and Luther, a man naturally inflexible and vehement, was become incapable, either from promises of advancement, or terrors of severity, to relinquish a sect of which he was himself the founder. It was in vain, therefore, that the pope issued out his bulls against Luther; it was in vain that the Dominican friars procured his books to be burned; he boldly abused the Dominicans, and burned the pope's bull in the streets of Wirtemberg. In the mean time, the dispute was carried on by writing on either side. Luther, though opposed by the pope, the conclave, and all the clergy, supported his cause singly, and with success. As the controversy was

new, his ignorance of many parts of the subject was not greater than theirs; and, ill as he wrote, they answered still worse. Opinions are inculcated upon the minds of mankind, rather by confidence and perseverance, than by strength of reasoning, or beauty of diction; and no man had more confidence or more perseverance than he. In this dispute it was the fate of Henry to be a champion on both sides. His father, who had given him the education of a scholar, permitted him to be instructed in school divinity, which then was the principal object of learned inquiry. Henry, therefore, willing to convince the world of his abilities in that science, obtained the pope's permission to read the works of Luther, which had been forbidden under pain of excommunication. In consequence of this, the king defended the seven sacraments, out of St. Thomas Aquinas; and showed some dexterity in this science, though it is thought that Wolsey had the chief hand in directing him. A book being thus finished in haste, it was sent to Rome for the pope's approbation, which it is natural to suppose would not be with-held. The pontiff, ravished with its eloquence and depth, compared it to the labours of St. Jerome or St. Augustine; and rewarded the author with the title of Defender of the Faith, little imagining that Henry was soon to be one of the most terrible enemies that ever the church of Rome had to contend with.

Besides these causes, which contributed to render the Romish church odious and contemptible, there were still others, proceeding from political measures. Clement the Seventh had succeeded Leo, and the hereditary animosity between the emperor and the pope breaking out into a war,

Clement

Clement was imprisoned in the castle of St. Angelo; and with thirteen cardinals, his adherents, kept in custody for his ransom. As the demands of the emperor were exorbitant, Henry undertook to negotiate for the pope, and was procuring him a very favourable treaty; but his holiness, in the mean time, corrupting his guards, had the good fortune to procure his escape from confinement; and, leaving the treaty unfinished, sent Henry a letter of thanks for his mediation. The violence of the emperor taught Henry that popes might be injured with impunity; and the behaviour of the pope manifested but little of that sanctity or infallibility to which the pontiffs pretended. Besides, as Henry had laid the pope thus under obligations, he supposed that he might, upon any emergency, expect a grateful return.

It was in this situation of the church and the pope, that a new scene was going to be opened, which was to produce endless disturbances, and to change the whole system of Europe. Henry had now been eighteen years married to Catharine of Arragon, who, as we have related, had been brought over from Spain to marry his elder brother, who died a few months after cohabitation. But, notwithstanding the submissive deference paid to the indulgence of the church, Henry's marriage with this princess did not pass without scruple and hesitation. The prejudices of the people were in general bent against a conjugal union between such near relations; and the late king, though he had solemnised the espousals when his son was but twelve years of age, gave many intimations that he intended to annul them at a proper opportunity. These intentions might have given Henry some doubts and scruples con- A. D. 1527.

cerning the legitimacy of his marriage; but as he had three children by the princess, and as her character and conduct were blameless, he for a while kept his suggestions private. But she was six years older than him; and the decay of her beauty, together with particular infirmities and diseases, had contributed to make him desirous of another consort. However, though he felt a secret dislike to her person, yet for a long time he broke out into no flagrant act of contempt; contented to range from beauty to beauty among the ladies of his court, and his rank always procuring him a ready compliance. But Henry was carried forward, though perhaps not at first excited, by a motive much more powerful than the tacit suggestions of his conscience. It happened that among the maids of honour, then attending the queen, there was one Anna Boleyn, the daughter of sir Thomas Boleyn, a gentleman of distinction, and related to most of the nobility. He had been employed by the king in several embassies, and was married to a daughter of the duke of Norfolk. The beauty of Anne surpassed whatever had hitherto appeared at this voluptuous court: and her education, which had been at Paris, tended to set off her personal charms. Her features were regular, mild, and attractive; her stature elegant, though below the middle size, while her wit and vivacity exceeded even her other allurements. Henry, who had never learned the art of restraining any passion that he desired to gratify, saw and loved her; but, after several efforts to induce her to comply with his criminal desires, he found that without marriage he could have no chance of succeeding. This obstacle, therefore, he hardily undertook to remove;

move; and as his own queen was now become hateful to him, in order to procure a divorce, he alleged that his conscience rebuked him for having so long lived in incest with the wife of his brother. In this pretended perplexity, he applied to Clement the Seventh, who owed him many obligations, desiring him to dissolve the bull of the former pope, which had given him permission to marry Catharine; and to declare that it was not in the power, even of the holy see, to dispense with a law so strictly enjoined in scripture. The unfortunate pope was now in the utmost perplexity; queen Catharine was aunt to the emperor who had lately made him a prisoner, and whose resentment he dreaded to rekindle by thus injuring so near a relation; besides, he could not in prudence declare the bull of the former pope illicit, for this would be giving a blow to the doctrine of papal infallibility. On the other hand, Henry was his protector and friend, the dominions of England were the chief resource from whence his finances were supplied, and the king of France, some time before, had got a bull of divorce in somewhat similar circumstances. In this exigence, he thought the wisest method would be to spin out the affair by a negotiation: and in the mean time sent over a commission to Wolsey, in conjunction with the archbishop of Canterbury, or any other English prelate, to examine the validity of the king's marriage, and the former dispensation; granting them also a provisional dispensation for the king's marriage with any other person. When this message was laid before the council in England, they prudently considered that an advice given by the pope in this secret manner, might very easily be disavowed in public; and that a clandestine marriage would

totally invalidate the legitimacy of any issue the king should have by such a match. In consequence of this, fresh messengers were dispatched to Rome, and evasive answers returned, the pope still continuing to promise, recant, dispute, and temporise; hoping that the king's passion would never hold out during the tedious course of an ecclesiastical controversy. In this he was entirely mistaken. Henry had been long taught to dispute as well as he, and quickly found, or wrested, many texts of scripture to favour his opinions or his passions. To his arguments he added threats, assuring the pope, that the English were already but too well disposed to withdraw from the holy see; and that if he continued uncomplying, the whole country would readily follow the example of a monarch who, stung by ingratitude, should deny all obedience to a pontiff by whom he had always been treated with falsehood and duplicity. The king even proposed to his holiness, whether in case he were not permitted to put away his present queen, he might not have a dispensation for having two wives at a time.

The pope, perceiving the eagerneſs of the king, at one time had thoughts of complying with his solicitations, and sent cardinal Campegio, his legate, to London, who, with Wolsey, opened a court for trying the legitimacy of the king's present marriage, and cited the king and the queen to appear before them. They both presented themselves; and the king answered to his name when called: but the queen, instead of answering to hers, rose from her seat, and, throwing herself at the king's feet, in the most pathetic manner entreated him to have pity upon her helpless situation. A stranger, unprotected, unfriended,

friended, she could only rely on him as her guardian and defender, on him alone who knew her submission and her innocence, and not upon any court, in which her enemies prevailed, and would wrest the laws against her; she therefore refused the present trial, where she could expect neither justice nor impartiality. Yet, notwithstanding the queen's objections, her trial went forward; and Henry shortly hoped to be gratified in his most sanguine expectations. The principal point which came before the legates, was the proof of prince Arthur's consummation of his marriage with Catharine, which some of his own expressions to that purpose tended to confirm. Other topics were preparing, tending to prove the inability of the pope himself to grant such a dispensation; and the business seemed now to be drawing near a period, when, to the great surprise of all, Campegio, all of a sudden, without any warning, and upon very frivolous pretences, prorogued the court, and shortly after transferred the cause before the court of Rome.

During the course of these perplexing negotiations, on the issue of which Henry's happiness seemed to depend, he had at first expected to find in his favourite Wolsey, a warm defender and a steady adherent; but in this he found himself mistaken. Wolsey seemed to be in pretty much the same dilemma with the pope. On the one hand, he was to please his master the king, from whom he had received a thousand marks of favour; and on the other hand, he feared to disoblige the pope, whose servant he more immediately was, and who besides had power to punish his disobedience. He, therefore, resolved to continue

tinue neuter in this controversy; and, though of all men the most haughty, he gave way on this occasion to his colleague Campegio in all things, pretending a deference to his skill in canon law. Wolsey's scheme of temporising was highly displeasing to the king; but for a while he endeavoured to stifle his resentment, until it could act with more fatal certainty. He for some time looked out for a man of equal abilities and less art; and it was not long before accident threw in his way one Thomas Cranmer, of greater talents, and probably of more integrity. Cranmer was a doctor of divinity, and a professor at Cambridge, but had lost his office upon marrying contrary to the institutes of the canon law, which enjoined celibacy to all the clergy. He had travelled in his youth into Germany; and it was there he became acquainted with Luther's works, and embraced his doctrines. This man happening to fall one evening into company with Gardiner, secretary of state, and Fox, the king's almoner, the business of the divorce became the subject of conversation. He gave it as his opinion, that the readiest way to quiet the king's conscience, or to extort the pope's consent, would be to consult all the universities of Europe upon the affair; an advice which being brought to the king, pleased him so much, that Cranmer was desired to follow the court.

The king finding himself provided with a person who could supply Wolsey's place, appeared less reserved in his resentments against that prelate. The attorney-general was ordered to prepare a bill of indictment against him; and he was soon after commanded to resign the great seal.

seal. Crimes are easily found against a favourite in disgrace, and the courtiers did not fail to increase the catalogue of his errors. He was ordered to depart from York-place palace; and all his furniture and plate were converted to the king's use. The inventory of his goods being taken, they were found to exceed even the most extravagant surmises. Of fine Holland alone there were found a thousand pieces; the walls of his palace were covered with cloth of gold and silver; he had a cup-board of plate of massy gold; all the rest of his riches and furniture were in proportion, and probably their greatness invited the hand of power. The parliament soon after confirmed the sentence of the court of Star-chamber against him, and he was ordered to retire to Esher, a country seat which he possessed near Hampton; there to await the king's further pleasure, with all the fluctuations of hope and apprehensions. Still, however, he was in possession of the archbishoprick of York and bishoprick of Winchester; and the king gave him distant gleams of hope, by sending him a ring, accompanied with a gracious message. Wolsey, who, like every bad character, was proud to his equals, and mean to those above him, happening to meet the king's messenger on horseback, immediately alighted, and throwing himself on his knees in the mire, received, in that abject manner, those marks of his majesty's condescension. But his hopes were soon overturned; for after he had remained some time at Esher, he was ordered to remove to his see of York; where he took up his residence at Cawood, and rendered himself very popular in the neighbourhood by his affability. He was not allowed to remain long unmolested in this retreat.

retreat. He was arrested by the earl of Northumberland, at the king's command, for high-treason; and preparations were made for conducting him to London, in order to his trial. He at first refused to comply with the requisition, as being a cardinal; but finding the earl bent on performing his commission, he complied, and set out, by easy journies, for London, to appear as a criminal, where he had acted as a king. In his way he staid a fortnight at the earl of Shrewsbury's; where one day, at dinner, he was taken ill, not without violent suspicions of having poisoned himself. Being brought forward from thence, he with much difficulty reached Leicester abbey; where the monks coming out to meet him, he said, "Father Abbot, I am come to lay my bones among you;" and immediately ordered his bed to be prepared. As his disorder increased, an officer being placed near, at once to guard and attend him, he spoke to him, a little before he expired, to this effect: "I pray you have me heartily recommended unto his royal majesty; he is a prince of a most royal carriage, and hath a princely heart, and rather than he will miss, or want any part of his will, he will endanger one half of his kingdom. I do assure you I have kneeled before him, for three hours together, to persuade him from his will and appetite, but could not prevail. Had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is the just reward that I must receive for my indulgent pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only to my prince." He died soon after, in all the pangs of remorse, and left a life which he had all along rendered turbid

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by ambition, and wretched by mean assiduities. He left two natural children behind him, one of whom, being a priest, was loaded with church preferments.

Henry being now freed from the controul of a person who had for some time been an obstacle to his intentions, by Cranmer's advice, he had the legality of his present marriage canvassed in all the most noted universities of Europe. It was very extraordinary to see the king on one side soliciting the universities to be favourable to his passion; and, on the other, the emperor pressing them with equal ardour to be favourable to his aunt. Henry liberally rewarded those doctors who declared on his side; and the emperor granted benefices to such as voted in conformity to his wishes. Time has discovered these intrigues. In one of Henry's account-books, we find the disbursements he made on these occasions. To a sub-deacon he gave a crown, to a deacon two crowns; and so of the rest, in proportion to the consequence of their station or opinion. The person, however, who bribed on these occasions, excused himself, by declaring that he never paid the money till after the vote was given. In this contest, the liberalities, and consequently the votes, of Henry prevailed; his intrigues for a favourable decision being better carried on, as he was most interested in the debate. All the colleges of Italy and France unanimously declared his present marriage against all law divine and human; and therefore alleged, that it was not in the power of the pope himself to grant a dispensation. The only places where this decision was most warmly opposed, were at Oxford and Cambridge: but they also concurred in the same opinion

opinion at last, having furnished out the formality of a debate. But the agents of Henry were not content with the suffrages of the universities alone; the opinions of the Jewish rabbies were also demanded: however, their suffrages were easily bought up.

Henry being thus fortified by the suffrages of the universities, was now resolved to oppose even the pope himself, and began in parliament by reviving an old law against the clergy, by which it was decreed, that all those who had submitted to the legatine authority, had incurred severe penalties. The clergy, to conciliate the king's favour, were compelled to pay a fine of an hundred and eighteen thousand pounds. A confession was likewise extorted from them, that the king was protector and supreme head of the church and the clergy of England. By these concessions a great part of the profits, and still more of the power, of the church of Rome was cut off. An act soon after was passed against levying the first fruits, or a year's rent, of all the bishopricks that fell vacant. The tie that held Henry to the church being thus broken, he resolved to keep no further measures with the pontiff. He therefore privately married Anne Boleyn, whom he had created marchioness of Pembroke; the duke of Norfolk, uncle to the new queen, her father, mother, and doctor Cranmer, being present at the ceremony. Soon after finding the queen pregnant, he publicly owned his marriage, and, to colour over his disobedience to the pope with an appearance of triumph, he passed with his beautiful bride through London, with a magnificence greater than had been ever known before. The streets were strewed, the

walls

walls of the houses were hung with tapestries, the conduits ran with wine, and an universal joy was diffused among the people, who were contented rather with the present festivity, than solicitous to examine the motives of it. Catharine, who had all along supported her claims with resolution, and yet with modesty, was cited to a trial; but refusing to appear, she was pronounced contumacious, and judgment given against the validity of her marriage with the king. At length, finding the inutility of further resistance, she retired to Ampthill, near Dunstable, where she continued the rest of her life in privacy and peace.

In the mean time, when this intelligence was conveyed to Rome, the conclave was in a rage; and the pope, incited by their ardour, and frightened also by the menaces of the emperor, published a sentence, declaring queen Catharine alone to be Henry's lawful wife; and requiring him to take her again, with a denunciation of censures in case of refusal. On the other hand, Henry, finding that his subjects of all ranks had taken part with him, and had willingly complied with his attempts to break a foreign dependence, resolved no longer to renew these submissions which no power could extort. The people had been prepared by degrees for this great innovation: care had been taken for some years to inculcate the doctrine, that the pope was entitled to no authority beyond the limits of his own diocese. The king, therefore, no longer delayed his meditated scheme of separating entirely from the church of Rome. The parliament was at his devotion; the majority of the clergy was for him, as they had already declared against the pope,

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by decreeing in favour of the divorce; and the people, above all, wished to see the church humbled, which had so long controlled them at pleasure, and grown opulent by their labours and distresses. Thus all things conspiring to cooperate with his designs, he at once ordered himself to be declared by his clergy the supreme head
A. D. 1534. of the church; the parliament confirmed the title, abolished all authority of the pope in England, voted all tributes formerly paid to the holy see as illegal, and intrusted the king with the collation to all ecclesiastical benefices. The nation came into the king's measures with joy, and took an oath, called the oath of supremacy; all the credit of the pope, that had subsisted for ages, was now at once overthrown, and none seemed to repine at the revolution, except those who were immediately interested by their dependence on the court of Rome.

But though Henry had thus separated from the church, yet he had not addicted himself to the system of any other reformer. The idea of heresy still appeared detestable as well as formidable to him; and whilst his resentment against the see of Rome had removed one part of his early prejudices, he made it a point never to relinquish the rest. Separate as he stood from the catholic church, and from the Roman pontiff, the head of it, he still valued himself on maintaining the catholic doctrines, and on guarding by fire and sword the imagined purity of its establishments. His ministers and courtiers were of as motley a character as his conduct, and seemed to waver, during the whole reign, between the ancient and the new religion. The young queen, engaged by interest as well as inclination, favoured

voured the cause of the reformers; Thomas Cromwell, who, from being a creature of Wolsey, and who, by an admirable defence of the conduct of his old master, had been taken into the favour and confidence of the king, embraced the same views. Being a man of prudence and ability, he was very successful in promoting the reformation, though in a concealed manner. Cranmer, who was now become archbishop of Canterbury, had all along adopted the protestant tenets, and had gained Henry's friendship by his candour and sincerity. On the other hand, the duke of Norfolk adhered to the old mode of worship; and by the greatness of his rank, as well as by his talents for peace and war, he had great weight in the king's council. Gardiner, lately created bishop of Winchester, had enlisted himself in the same party; and the suppleness of his character, and the dexterity of his conduct, had rendered him extremely useful to it. The king, mean while, who held the balance between these contending factions, was enabled, by the courtship paid him by both protestants and catholics, to assume an immeasurable authority.

As the mode of religion was not as yet known, and as the minds of those who were of opposite sentiments were extremely exasperated, it naturally followed that several must fall a sacrifice in the contest between ancient establishments and modern reformation. The reformers were the first who were exhibited as unhappy examples of the vindictive fury of those who were for the continuance of ancient superstitions. One James Bainham, a gentleman of the Temple, being accused of favouring the doctrines of Luther, had been brought before sir Thomas More during his

chancellorship; and, after being put to the torture, was condemned as a relapsed heretic, and was burned in Smithfield. One Thomas Bilney, a priest, had embraced the new doctrine; but being terrified into an abjuration, he was so stung with remorse, that he went into Norfolk, publicly recanting his former conduct, and exposing the errors of popery. He was soon seised, tried in the bishop's court, condemned as a relapsed heretic, and burned accordingly. On the other hand, Henry was not remiss in punishing such as disowned the propriety of his late defection from Rome; and the monks, as they suffered most by the reformation, so they were most obnoxious, from their free manner of speaking, to the royal resentment.

To assist him in bringing these to punishment, the parliament had made it capital to deny his supremacy over the church; and many priors and ecclesiastics lost their lives for this new species of crime. But of those who fell a sacrifice to this stern and unjust law, none are so much to be regretted as John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and the celebrated sir Thomas More. Fisher was a prelate eminent for his learning and morals; but so firmly attached to ancient opinions, that he was thrown into prison, and deprived of his ecclesiastical revenues; so that he had scarce even rags to cover him in his severe confinement. He was soon after indicted for denying the king's supremacy, condemned, and beheaded.

Sir Thomas More is entitled to still greater pity, as his merits were greater. This extraordinary man, who was one of the revivers of ancient literature, and incontestably the foremost writer of his age, had, for some time, refused

to

to act in subserviency to the capricious passions of the king. He had been created chancellor; but gave up that high office, rather than concur in the breach with the church of Rome. The austerity of this man's virtue, and the sanctity of his manners, had in no wise encroached on the gentleness of his temper; but even in the midst of poverty and disgrace, he could preserve that natural gaiety which was probably inspired by conscious innocence. But on the present occasion, being put into confinement, no entreaties nor arguments could prevail with him to speak an entire acknowledgment of the justice of the king's claims. One Rich, who was then solicitor-general, was sent to confer with him; and in his presence he was inveigled to say, that any question with regard to the law, which established that prerogative, was like a two-edged sword; if a person answered one way, it would confound his soul; if another, it would destroy his body. These words were sufficient for the base informer to hang an accusation upon; and, as trials at that time were but mere formalities, the jury gave sentence against More, who long expected his fate. His natural cheerfulness attended him to the last: when he was mounting the scaffold, he said to one, "Friend, help me "up; and when I go down again, let me shift "for myself." The executioner asking him forgiveness, he granted the request, but told him, "You will never get credit by beheading me, "my neck is so short." Then laying his head on the block, he bid the executioner stay till he had put aside his beard, for, said he, that has never committed treason.

The concurrence which the people seemed to lend to these severities, added to the great authority which Henry, from his severe administration, possessed, induced him to proceed still farther in his scheme of innovation. As the monks had all along shown him the greatest resistance, he resolved at once to deprive them of future power to injure him. He accordingly empowered Cromwell, secretary of state, to send commissioners into the several counties of England to inspect the monasteries; and to report, with rigorous exactness, the conduct and deportment of such as were resident there. This employment was readily undertaken by some creatures of the court, namely, Layton, London, Price, Gage, Petre, and Belasis, who are said to have discovered monstrous disorders in many of the religious houses. Whole convents of women abandoned to all manner of lewdness; friars accomplices in their crimes; pious frauds every where practised to increase the devotion and liberality of the people; and cruel and inveterate factions maintained between the members of many of these institutions. These accusations, whether true or false, were urged with great clamour against these communities; and a general horror was excited in the nation against them.

The king now thought he might with safety, and even some degree of popularity, abolish these institutions; but willing to proceed gently at first, he gave directions to parliament to go no farther at present than to suppress the lesser monasteries, who possessed revenues below the
A. D. 1536. value of two hundred pounds a-year. By this act, three hundred and seventy-six monasteries were suppressed; and their revenues, amounting to

to thirty-two thousand pounds a-year, were granted to the king, besides their goods and plate, computed at a hundred thousand pounds more. But this was only the beginning of his confiscations; for, about two years after, he resolved upon the entire destruction of all monasteries whatsoever. A new visitation was therefore appointed, and fresh crimes were also produced; so that his severities were conducted with such seeming justice and success, that in less than two years he became possessed of all the monastic revenues. These, on the whole, amounted to six hundred and forty-five, of which twenty-eight had abbots, who enjoyed a seat in parliament. Ninety colleges were demolished in several counties; two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels, and a hundred and ten hospitals. The whole revenue of these establishments amounted to one hundred and sixty-one thousand pounds, which was about a twentieth part of the national income. The loss which was sustained by the clergy upon this occasion, was by no means so great or mortifying as the cruel insults and reproaches to which they were exposed for their former frauds and avarice. The numberless relics which they had amassed, to delude and draw money from the people, were now brought forward, and exposed before the populace with the most poignant contempt. An angel with one wing, that brought over the head of the spear which pierced the side of Christ; coals that had roasted St. Laurence; the parings of St. Edmond's toes; certain relics to prevent rain; others to stop the generation of weeds among corn. There was a crucifix at Boxley in Kent, distinguished by the appellation

of the Rood of Grace, which had been long in reputation for bending, raising, rolling the eyes, and shaking the head. It was brought to London, and broke to pieces at Paul's Cross; and the wheels and springs by which it was actuated shown to the people. At Hales, in Gloucestershire, the monks had carried on a profitable traffic with the pretended blood of Christ in a crystal phial. This relic was no other than the blood of a duck killed weekly, and exhibited to the pilgrim; if his prayers were accepted, the blood was shown him; if supposed to be rejected, the phial was turned; and being on one side opake, the blood was no longer to be seen. But the spoils of St. Thomas à Becket's shrine, at Canterbury, exceed what even imagination might conceive. The shrine was broken down; and the gold that adorned it filled two large chests, that eight strong men could hardly carry out of the church. The king even cited the saint himself to appear, and to be tried and condemned as a traitor. He ordered his name to be struck out of the calendar, his bones to be burned, and the office for his festival to be struck out of the Breviary. Such were the violent measures with which the king proceeded against these seats of indolence and imposture; but as great murmurs were excited upon this occasion, he took care that all those who could be useful to him, or even dangerous in cases of opposition, should be sharers in the spoil. He either made a gift of the revenues of the convents to his principal courtiers, or sold them at low prices, or exchanged them for other lands on very disadvantageous terms. He also erected six new bishopricks, Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough,

rough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester, of which the last five still continue. He also settled salaries on the abbots and priors, proportioned to their former revenues or their merits; and each monk was allowed a yearly pension of eight marks for his subsistence.

But though the king had entirely separated himself from Rome, yet he was unwilling to follow any guide in conducting a new system. He would not therefore wholly abolish those practices, by which priest-craft had been carried to such a pitch of absurdity. The invocation of saints was not yet abolished by him, but only restrained. He procured an act, or, more properly speaking, gave orders, to have the Bible translated into the vulgar tongue; but it was not permitted to be put into the hands of the laity. It was a capital crime to believe in the pope's supremacy; and yet equally heinous to be of the reformed religion, as established in Germany. His opinions were at length delivered in a law, which, from its horrid consequences, was afterwards termed the Bloody Statute, by which it was ordained, that whoever, by word or writing, denied transubstantiation, whoever maintained that the communion in both kinds was necessary, whoever asserted that it was lawful for priests to marry, whoever alleged that vows of chastity might be broken, whoever maintained that private masses were unprofitable, or that auricular confession was unnecessary, should be found guilty of heresy, and burned or hanged as the court should determine. As the people were at that time chiefly composed of those who followed the opinions of Luther, and such as still adhered to the pope, this statute,

with Henry's former decrees, in some measure excluded both, and opened a field for persecution, which soon after produced its dreadful harvests.

These severities, however, were preceded by one of a different nature, arising neither from religious nor political causes, but merely from tyrannical caprice. Anne Boleyn, his queen, had been always a favourer of the Reformation, and consequently had many enemies on that account, who only waited some fit occasion to destroy her credit with the king; and that occasion presented itself but too soon. The king's passion was by this time quite palled by satiety; as the only desire he ever had for her arose from that brutal appetite which enjoyment soon destroys, he was now fallen in love, if we may so prostitute the expression, with another, and languished for the possession of Jane Seymour, who had for some time been maid of honour to the queen.

As soon as the queen's enemies perceived the king's disgust, they resolved on taking the first
A. D. 1536. opportunity of gratifying his inclination to get rid of her, by producing crimes against her which his passions would quickly make real. The countess of Rochford in particular, who was married to the queen's brother, herself a woman of infamous character, began with the most cruel insinuations against the reputation of her sister-in-law. She pretended that her own husband was engaged in an incestuous correspondence with his sister; and, not contented with this insinuation, represented all the harmless levities of the queen as favours of a criminal nature. The king's jealousy first appeared openly in a tilting at Greenwich, where the queen happened

pened to drop her handkerchief, as was supposed, to one of her minions to wipe his face, after having over-heated himself in the exercise. Though this might have been very harmless, the king abruptly retired from the place, and sent orders to have her confined to her apartment. Anne smiled at first, thinking the king was in jest; but when she found it was a very serious affair, she received the sacrament in her closet, sensible of what little mercy she had to expect from so furious a tyrant.

In the mean time, her enemies were not remiss in inflaming the accusation against her. The duke of Norfolk, from his attachment to the old religion, took care to produce several witnesses, accusing her of incontinency with some of the meaner servants of the court. Four persons were particularly pointed out as her paramours; Henry Norris, groom of the stole, Weston and Brereton, gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber, together with Mark Smeton, a musician. As these had served her with much assiduity, their respect might have been construed by suspicion into more tender attachments. The next day the queen was sent to the Tower, earnestly protesting her innocence, and sending up prayers to heaven for assistance in this extremity. She in vain begged to be admitted into the presence of the king; the lady Boleyn, her uncle's wife, who had always hated her, was ordered to continue in the same chamber, and she made a report of all the incoherent ravings of the afflicted prisoner. She owned that she had once rallied Norris on his delaying his marriage, and had told him that he probably expected her when she should be a widow. She had reproved Weston,

ton, she said, for his affection to a kinswoman of her's, and his indifference towards his wife; but he told her that she had mistaken the object of his affection, for it was herself. She affirmed, that Smeton had never been in her chamber but twice, when he played on the harpsichord; but she acknowledged that he once had the boldness to tell her, that a look sufficed him.

Every person at court now abandoned the unhappy queen in her distress, except Cranmer, who, though forbid to come into the king's presence, wrote a letter to him in behalf of the queen; but his intercession had no effect. On the twelfth day of May, Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton were tried in Westminster-hall, when Smeton was prevailed upon, by the promise of a pardon, to confess a criminal correspondence with the queen; but he was never confronted by her he accused; and his execution with the rest, shortly after, served to acquit her of the charge. Norris, who had been much in the king's favour, had an offer of his life, if he would confess his crime, and accuse his mistress; but he rejected the proposal with contempt, and died professing her innocence, and his own.

In the mean time the queen, who saw the terrible appearance of her fortunes, attempted to soften the king by every endeavour to spare the lives of the unfortunate men whose deaths were decreed. But his was a stern jealousy fostered by pride; and nothing but her removal could appease him. Her letter to him upon this occasion, written from the Tower, is full of the tenderest expostulations, and too remarkable to be omitted here; as its manner serves at once to mark the situation of her mind, and shows to what

what a pitch of refinement she had carried the language even then. It is as follows:

"Sir,

"Your grace's displeasure, and my imprisonment, are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me, (willing me to confess a truth and so obtain your favour,) by such an one, whom you know to be mine ancient professed enemy, I no sooner received this message by him, than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your command.

"But let not your grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought thereof preceded. And to speak a truth, never prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Boleyn. With which name and place I could have willingly have contented myself, if God and your grace's pleasure had been so pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my exaltation, or received queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as I now find; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your grace's fancy, the least alteration I knew was fit and sufficient to draw that fancy to some other object. You have chosen me, from a low estate, to be your queen and companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If then you have found me worthy of such honour, good your grace, let not any light fancy, or bad counsel of mine enemies, withdraw your princely favour from me; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart towards your good

good grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, and the infant princess your daughter. Try me, good king; but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and judges; yea, let me receive an open trial, for my truth shall fear no open shame; then shall you see either mine innocence cleared, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your grace may be freed from an open censure; and mine offence being so lawfully proved, your grace is at liberty both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unlawful wife, but to follow your affection already settled on that party, for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto your grace, not being ignorant of my suspicion therein.

"But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander must bring you the enjoying your desired happiness, then I desire of God that he will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine enemies, the instrument thereof; and that he will not call you to a strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me, at his general judgment-seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear, and in whose judgment I doubt not (whatsoever the world may think of me), mine innocence shall be openly known and sufficiently cleared.

"My last and only request shall be, that myself shall only bear the burden of your grace's displeasure; and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen, who (as I un-

understand) are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight, if ever the name of Anne Boleyn hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request; and I will so leave to trouble your grace any farther, with mine earnest prayers to the Trinity, to have your grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions. From my doleful prison in the Tower, this sixth of May.

Your most loyal
and ever faithful wife,
Anne Boleyn."

It was not to be expected that eloquence could prevail on a tyrant, whose passions were to be influenced by none of the nobler motives; the queen and her brother were tried by a jury of peers; but upon what proof or pretence the crime of incest was urged against them is unknown; the chief evidence, it is said, amounted to no more than that Rochford had been seen to lean on her bed before some company. Part of the charge against her was, that she had declared to her attendants, that the king never had her heart; which was considered as a slander upon the throne, and strained into a breach of a late statute, by which it was declared criminal to throw any slander upon the king, queen, or their issue. The unhappy queen, though unassisted by counsel, defended herself with great judgment, and presence of mind; and the spectators could not forbear declaring her entirely innocent. She answered distinctly to all the charges brought against her: but the king's authority was not to be controuled; she was declared

clared guilty, and her sentence ran, that she should be burned or beheaded at the king's pleasure. When this terrible sentence was pronounced against her, she could not help offering up a prayer to Heaven, vindicating her innocence; and, in a most pathetic speech to her judges, averred the injustice of her condemnation. But the tyrant, not satisfied with this vengeance, was desirous also of having her daughter declared illegitimate; and remembering the report of a contract between her and Percy earl of Northumberland, prevailed upon the queen, either by promise of life, or executing the sentence in all its rigour, to confess such a contract. The afflicted primate, who sat as judge, thought himself obliged, by this confession, to pronounce the marriage null and invalid; and Henry, in the transports of his malignant prosecution did not see, that if her marriage had been invalid from the beginning, the sentence of adultery must have been invalid also.

She who had been once the envied object of royal favour, was now going to give a melancholy instance of the capriciousness of fortune: upon her returning to prison, she once more sent protestations of her innocence to the king. "You have raised me," said she, "from privacy to make me a lady; from a lady you made me a countess; from a countess, a queen; and from a queen I shall shortly become a saint in heaven." On the morning of her execution, she sent for Kingstone, the keeper of the Tower, to whom, upon entering the prison, she said, "Mr. Kingstone, I hear I am not to die till noon, and I am sorry for it; for I thought to be dead before this time, and free from a life of pain." The keeper at-

attempting to comfort her, by assuring her the pain would be very little: she replied, "I have heard the executioner is very expert; and (clasping her neck with her hands, laughing,) I have but a little neck." When brought to the scaffold, from a consideration of her child Elizabeth's welfare, she would not inflame the minds of the spectators against her prosecutors, but contented herself with saying, "that she was come to die as she was sentenced by the law." She would accuse none, nor say any thing of the ground upon which she was judged; she prayed heartily for the king, and called him "a most merciful, and gentle prince; that he had always been to her a good and gracious sovereign; and that if any one should think proper to canvass her cause, she desired him to judge the best." She was beheaded by the executioner of Calais, who was brought over as much more expert than any in England. Her body was negligently thrown into a common chest of elm-tree, made to hold arrows, and was buried in the Tower. Anne Boleyn seemed to be guilty of no other crime than that of having survived the king's affections; and although many crowned heads were already put to death in England, she was the first that underwent all the forms of law, and was beheaded on a scaffold.

The people, in general, beheld her fate with pity; but still more, when they discovered the cause of the tyrant's impatience to destroy her; for the very next day after her execution, he married the lady Jane Seymour, his cruel heart being no way softened by the wretched fate of one that had been so lately the object of his warmest affections. He also ordered his parliament

ment to give him a divorce between her sentence and execution; and thus he endeavoured to bastardise Elizabeth, the only child he had by her, as he had in the same manner formerly bastardised Mary, his only child by queen Catharine.

It is easy to imagine, that such various innovations, and capricious cruelties, were not felt by the people without indignation; but their murmurs were fruitless, and their complaints disregarded. Henry now made himself umpire between those of the ancient superstition and the modern reformation; both looked up to him for assistance, and at mutual enmity with each other, he took the advantage of all. Beside, he had all the powerful men of the nation on his side, by the many grants he had made them of the lands and goods of which he had despoiled the monasteries. It was easy for him, therefore, to quell the various insurrections which his present arbitrary conduct produced, as they were neither headed by any powerful man, nor conducted with any kind of foresight, but merely the tumultuary efforts of anguish and despair. The first rising was in Lincolnshire, headed by doctor Mackrel, prior of Barlings; and though this tumultuary army amounted to twenty thousand men, upon a proclamation being made with assurances of pardon, the populace dispersed; and Mackrel, with some more of the leaders, falling into the king's hands, were put to death. Another rising followed soon after, in the North, amounting to above forty thousand men, who were preceded by priests, carrying the ensigns of their functions, before the army; and all seeming chiefly inspired with an enmity against Cromwell, whom they considered as the instigator of the

the king's severities. But these also were soon dispersed upon finding their provisions grown short; after having in vain endeavoured to attack the duke of Norfolk's army, which was sent against them, and from which they were separated by a rivulet that was swoln by heavy rains. A new insurrection broke out shortly after, headed by Musgrave and Tilby; but the insurgents were dispersed and put to flight by the duke of Norfolk. Besides, one Aske, a gentleman of that part of the country, who led the first insurrection, lord D'Arcy, sir Robert Constable, sir John Bulmer, sir Thomas Percy, sir Stephen Hamilton, Nicholas Tempest, and William Lumley, were thrown into prison, condemned, and executed. Henry, enraged by multiplied revolts, was resolved to put no bounds to his severities; and the birth of a prince, afterwards Edward the Sixth, and the death of the queen, who survived this joyful occasion but two days, made but a small pause in the fierce severity with which those were treated who were found to oppose his will.

In the midst of these commotions, the fires of Smithfield were seen to blaze with unusual fierceness. Those who adhered to the pope, or those who followed the doctrines of Luther, were equally the objects of royal vengeance and ecclesiastical persecution. From the multiplied alterations which were made in the national systems of belief, mostly drawn up by Henry himself, few knew what to think, or what to profess. They were ready enough, indeed, to follow his doctrines, how inconsistent or contradictory soever; but as he was continually changing them himself, they could hardly pursue so fast as he ad- Oct. 12, 1537.

advanced before them. Thomas Cromwell, raised by the king's caprice, from being a blacksmith's son, to be a royal favourite, for tyrants ever raise their favourites from the lowest of the people, together with Cranmer, now become archbishop of Canterbury, were both seen to favour the reformation with all their endeavours. On the other hand, Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, together with the duke of Norfolk, were for leading the king back to his original superstition. In fact, Henry submitted to neither; his pride had long been so inflamed by flattery, that he thought himself entitled to regulate, by his own single opinion, the religious faith of the whole nation.

In this universal terror and degeneracy of mankind, during which the severities of one man alone seemed to be sufficient to keep millions in awe, there was a poor school-master in London, who boldly stood up for the rights of humanity, and ventured to think for himself. This man's name was John Lambert, who hearing doctor Taylor preach upon the real presence in the sacrament, presented him with his reasons for contradicting that doctrine. The paper was carried to Cranmer and Latimer, who were then of the opinion of Luther on that head, and endeavoured to bring him over to their opinions. But Lambert remained steady in his belief; and they were mortified when, instead of recanting, he appealed to the king himself. This was a challenge that pleased Henry's vanity, and, willing at once to exert his supremacy, and display his learning, he accepted the appeal; and public notice was given of his intended disputation. For this purpose, scaffolds were erected in Westminster-

minster-hall for the accommodation of the audience, and Henry appeared on his throne, accompanied with all the ensigns of majesty. The prelates were placed on his right hand, the temporal peers on his left. The judges, and most eminent lawyers, had a place assigned them behind the bishops; the courtiers of the greatest distinction behind the peers. Poor Lambert was produced in the midst of this splendid assembly, with not one creature to defend or support him. The bishop of Chester opened the conference by declaring, that the king, notwithstanding any slight alterations he had made in the rights of the church, was yet determined to maintain the purity of the catholic faith, and to punish, with the utmost severity, all departure from it. After this preamble, sufficient to terrify the boldest disputant, the king asked Lambert, with a stern countenance, what his opinion was of transubstantiation? When Lambert began his oration with a compliment to his majesty, Henry rejected his praise with disdain and indignation. He afterwards entered upon the discussion of that abstruse question, and endeavoured to press Lambert with some arguments, drawn from the scriptures and the schoolmen. At every word the audience were ready to second him with their applause and admiration. Lambert, however, no way discouraged, was not slow to reply; but here Cranmer stept in, and seconded the king's proofs by some new topics. Gardiner entered the lists in support of Cranmer; Tonstal took up the argument after Gardiner; Stokesly brought fresh aid to Tonstal. Six bishops more appeared successively in the field against the poor solitary disputator, who, for five hours long, attempted

to vindicate his doctrines, till, at last, fatigued, confounded, brow-beaten, and abashed, he was reduced to silence. The king then returning to the charge, demanded if he was convinced; and whether he chose to gain life by recantation, or to die for his obstinacy? Lambert, no way intimidated, replied, that he cast himself wholly on his majesty's clemency; to which Henry replied, that he would never protect a heretic; and, therefore, if that was his final answer, he must expect to be committed to the flames." Lambert, no way terrified, heard Cromwell read the sentence, by which he was condemned to be burned alive, with the utmost composure; and, as if his persecutors were resolved to try his fortitude, the executioners were ordered to make his punishment as painful as they could. He was, therefore, burned at a slow fire, his legs and thighs being first consumed; and when there appeared no end of his tortures, some of the guards, more merciful than the rest, lifted him on their halberts; and while he yet continued to cry out, "None but Christ! None but Christ!" he was wholly consumed by the surrounding fire.

This poor man's death seemed to be only a signal for that of many more. Adulation had whispered the king with such an opinion of his own ability, that he now resolved to punish rigorously all those who should presume to differ from him in point of opinion, without making any distinction between Catholic or Lutheran. Soon after, no less than five hundred persons were imprisoned for contradicting the opinions delivered in the bloody statute; and received protection only from the lenity of Cromwell. For, some time after, doctor Barnes, who had been

been instrumental in Lambert's execution, felt, in his turn, the severity of the persecuting spirit; and, by a bill in parliament, without any trial, was condemned to the flames, discussing theological questions at the very stake. With Barnes were executed one Gerrard and Jerome, for the same opinions. Three catholics also, whose names were Abel, Fetherstone, and Powel, were dragged upon the same hurdles to execution; and declared, that the most grievous part of their punishment was the being coupled with such heretical miscreants as were united in the same calamity.

During these horrid transactions Henry was resolved to take another queen, and, after some negotiation upon the continent, he contracted a marriage with Anne of Cleves, his aim being by her means to fortify his alliances with the princes of Germany. Nor was he led into this match without a most scrupulous examination, on his side, of the lady's personal accomplishments. He was assured by his envoy that she was of a very large person, which was the more pleasing to him, as he was at that time become very corpulent, and consequently required a similar figure in a wife. He was still farther allured by her picture, in which Holbein, who drew it, was, it seems, more a friend to his art than to truth; for he greatly flattered her. The king, upon her landing, went privately to meet her at Rochester, where he was very much damped in his amorous ardour. He found her big indeed, and tall as he could wish, but utterly devoid of grace and beauty; she could also speak but one language, her native German; so that her conversation could never recompense the defects of her person.

He swore she was a great Flanders mare; and added, that he could never settle his affections upon her. However, sensible that he would greatly disoblige her brother the duke, and consequently all the German princes in his alliance, he resolved to marry her; and he told Cromwell, who was chiefly instrumental in this affair, that, since he had gone so far, he would put his neck into the yoke, whatever it cost him. The marriage was accordingly celebrated; but the king's disgust was only increased by it; he told Cromwell the next morning, that he hated her more than ever; and even suspected her not to be a true maid, a circumstance in which he thought himself extremely skilful. Cromwell saw the danger he incurred by having been instrumental in forming this union; but he endeavoured, by his assiduity, and humble adulation, to keep the king from coming to extremities with him.

But he should have known that a tyrant once offended is implacable. Henry's aversion to the queen secretly increased every day; and he at length resolved to get rid of her and his prime-minister together. The fall of this favourite was long and ardently wished for by a great part of the nation. The nobility hated a man, who, from such mean beginnings, was placed before the first persons in the kingdom; for, besides being made vicar-general, which gave him almost absolute authority over the clergy, he was lord privy-seal, lord-chamberlain, and master of the wards. He had also obtained the order of the Garter, a dignity which had hitherto been only conferred on the most illustrious families; and to carry his exaltation still higher, he had been made earl of Essex. The

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protestants disliked him for his concurrence with the king's will in their persecution; and the papists detested him, as the inveterate enemy of their religion. It only remained, therefore, with the king to hasten or retard the punishment of a man who had scarce a partisan in the nation, except himself. But he had a strong cause of dislike to him for his late unpropitious alliance; and a new motive was soon added for increasing his displeasure. He had fixed his affection on Catharine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk; and the only method of gratifying this new passion was, as in former cases, discarding the present queen to make room for a new one. The duke of Norfolk had long been Cromwell's mortal enemy, and eagerly embraced this opportunity to destroy a man he considered as his rival. He therefore made use of all his niece's arts to ruin the favourite; and when his project was ripe for execution, he obtained a commission from the king to arrest Cromwell for high-treason. His disgrace was no sooner known, than all his friends forsook him, except Cranmer, who wrote such a letter to Henry in his behalf as no other man in the kingdom would have presumed to offer. However, he was accused in parliament of heresy and treason, and, without being ever heard in his own defence, condemned to suffer the pains of death, as the king should think proper to direct. Cromwell's fortitude seemed to forsake him in this dreadful exigency. He wrote to the king for pardon; said, that the frail flesh incited him continually to apply to his grace for mercy, and subscribed his epistle with a heavy heart, and a trembling hand, "from the king's most miserable prisoner

and poor slave at the Tower, Thomas Cromwell. Mercy, mercy, mercy!"

Cromwell's letter touched the hard heart of the monarch; he ordered it to be read to him three times; and then, as if willing to gain a victory over all his softer feelings, he signed the warrant for beheading him upon Tower-Hill. When he was brought to the scaffold, his regard for his son hindered him from expatiating upon his own innocence; he thanked God for bringing him to that death for his transgressions, confessed he had often been seduced, but that he now died in the catholic faith. It was thus that Henry, not satisfied with the death of those whom he chose to punish, repressed their complaints also, and terrified the unhappy sufferers from the last consolation of the wretched, the satisfaction of upbraiding their persecutors. In this manner, the unhappy sufferer having spent some time in his private devotions, submitted his neck to the executioner, who mangled him in a most terrible manner. A few days after his death, a number of people were executed together upon very different accusations; some for having denied the king's supremacy, and others for having maintained the doctrines of Luther.

About a month after the death of Cromwell, the king declared his marriage with Catharine Howard, whom he had some time before privately espoused. This was regarded as a very favourable incident by the catholic party; and the subsequent events for a while turned out to their wish. The king's councils being now entirely directed by Norfolk and Gardiner, a furious persecution commenced against the protestants; and the law of the six articles was executed with rigour;

rigour; so that a foreigner, who was then residing in England, had reason to say, that those who were against the pope were burned, and those who were for him were hanged. The king, with an ostentatious impartiality, reduced both parties to an equal share of subordination, and infused terror into every breast.

But the measure of his severities was not yet filled up. He had thought himself very happy in his new marriage. He was so captivated with the queen's accomplishments, that he gave public thanks for his felicity, and desired his confessor to join with him in the same thanksgiving. This joy, however, was of very short duration. While the king was at York, upon an intended conference with the king of Scotland, a man of the name of Lascelles had waited upon Cranmer at London; and, from the information of this man's sister, who had been servant to the duchess-dowager of Norfolk, he gave a very surprising account of the queen's incontinence. He averred that she led a very lewd life before her marriage, and had carried on a scandalous correspondence with two men, called Derham and Mannock; and that she continued to indulge herself in the same criminal pleasures since she had been raised to her present greatness. Cranmer was equally surprised and embarrassed at this intelligence, which he communicated to the chancellor, and some other members of the privy-council, who advised him to make the king acquainted with the whole affair on his return to London. The archbishop knew the hazards he ran by intermeddling in such delicate points; but he also knew the dangers he incurred by suppressing his information. He therefore resolved to com-

communicate what he had heard by writing, in the form of a memorial; and this he shortly after delivered into the king's own hand, desiring his majesty to read it in private. Henry at first disbelieved, or pretended to disbelieve the report; he ordered the keeper of the privy-seal to examine Lascelles, who persisted in his former narrative, and even produced his sister to confirm his account. Upon this, Derham and Mannock were arrested; and they quickly confessed their own guilt, and the queen's incontinence. They went still farther, by impeaching the old lady Rochford, who had formerly been so instrumental in procuring the death of Anne Boleyn. They alleged that this lady had introduced one Culpepper into the queen's bed-chamber, who stayed with her from eleven at night till four in the morning. When the queen was first examined relative to her crime, she denied the charge; but afterwards finding that her accomplices were her accusers, she confessed her incontinence before marriage, but denied her having dishonoured the king's bed since their union. But three maids of honour, who were admitted to her secrets, still farther alleged her guilt; and some of them confessed having passed the night in the same bed with her and her lovers. The king was so affected at this discovery, that he burst into a flood of tears, and bitterly lamented his misfortune. Derham, Mannock, and Culpepper, were convicted and executed; but he was resolved to throw the odium of the queen's death upon the parliament, who had always shown themselves the ready ministers of all his severities. These servile creatures, upon being informed of the queen's crime and confession, found her quickly

quickly guilty, and petitioned the king that she might be punished with death; that the same penalty might be inflicted on the lady Rochford, the accomplice of her debaucheries; and that her grand-mother, the duchess-dowager of Norfolk, together with her father, mother, and nine others, men and women, as having been privy to the queen's irregularities, should participate in her punishment. With this petition the king was most graciously pleased to agree; they were condemned to death by an act of attainder, which, at the same time, made it capital for all persons to conceal their knowledge of the debaucheries of any future queen. It was also enacted, that if the king married any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, she should be guilty of treason in case she did not previously reveal her guilt. The people made merry with this absurd and brutal statute; and it was said, that the king must henceforth look out for a widow. After all these laws were passed, in which the most wonderful circumstance is, that a body of men could ever be induced to give their consent, the queen was beheaded on Tower-Hill, together with the lady Rochford, who found no great degree of compassion, as she had herself before tampered in blood. The queen was more pitied, as she owned that she had led a dissolute life before marriage; but denied in her last moments, and with the utmost solemnity, that she had ever been untrue since her marriage with the king. The public exclaimed so loudly against the severity of the act, which brought in so many accomplices of her guilt, that the king did not think proper to execute

ecute sentence upon them, though some of them were long detained in confinement.

Henry having thus, by various acts of tyranny, shown that he was abandoned to all ideas of justice, morals, or humanity, at last took it into his head to compose a book of religion, which was to be the code by which his subjects should for the future regulate all their belief and
A. D. 1541. actions. Having procured an act of parliament for this purpose, in which all spiritual supremacy was declared to be vested in him, he published a small volume soon after, called the Institution of a Christian Man, which was received by the convocation, and voted to be the infallible standard of orthodoxy. All the abstruse points of justification, faith, free-will, good-works, and grace, are there defined with a leaning towards the opinion of the reformers; while the sacraments, which a few years before were only allowed to be three, are there increased to their original number of seven, conformable to the sentiments of the catholics. But the king was not long satisfied with this code of belief; for he soon after procured a new book to be composed, called the Erudition of a Christian Man, which he published upon his own authority; and though this new creed differed a great deal from the former, yet he was no less positive in requiring assent to this than he had been to the former. In both these books he was very explicit in enforcing the doctrine of passive obedience; so that his institutions were not likely to weaken what he so powerfully enforced by his severities.

But his authority in religion was not more uncontrouled than in temporal concerns. An alderman, one Read, who had refused to assist him with

with a benevolence, was pressed as a private sentinel, and sent to serve in an army which was levied against an incursion of the Scots. In this manner, all who opposed his will were either pressed or imprisoned, happy if they escaped with such slight punishments. His parliament made a law, by which the king's proclamations were to have the same force as statutes; and to facilitate the execution of this act, by which all shadow of liberty was totally removed, they appointed that any nine of the privy-council should form a legal court for punishing disobedience to all proclamations. Thus the king was empowered to issue a proclamation to destroy the lives, or take away the properties, of any of his subjects: and the only redress was to himself in council.

In about a year after the death of the last queen, Henry once more changed his condition by marrying his sixth and last wife, Catharine Parr, who, according to the ridiculous suggestions of the people, was, in fact, a widow. She was the wife of the late lord Latimer, and was considered as a woman of discretion and virtue. She was already passed the meridian of life, and managed this capricious tyrant's temper with prudence and success. His amiable days had long been over: he was almost choaked with fat, and had contracted a morose air, very far from inspiring affection. Nevertheless, this woman, sacrificing her appetites to her ambition, so far prevailed in gaining his confidence, that she was appointed regent of the kingdom during his absence in France, whither he passed over at the head of thirty thousand men, to prosecute a war which had been declared between him and the French king. He there behaved, as in all A.D. 1543.

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his former undertakings, with ineffectual ostentation. Instead of marching into the heart of the country, he sat down before Boulogne, which was obliged to capitulate; and his ally, the emperor, making a separate peace. Henry was obliged to return with his army into England, where he found his subjects ready to offer him their accustomed adulation, and to praise him for an enterprise in which, at an infinite charge, he had made an acquisition that was of no manner of benefit.

But of all his subjects none seemed more abandoned, and basely servile, than the parliament, which, it might have been reasonably supposed, would rather be the protectors of the people than the slaves of the crown. Upon his return from his expensive French expedition, after professions of the greatest submission and profound acknowledgment, they granted him a subsidy equal to his demands, and added to it a gift, which will make their memory odious to the most distant posterity. By one vote they bestowed upon him all the revenues of the two universities, as well as some other places of education and public worship. But rapacious as this monarch was, he refrained from despoiling those venerable seminaries of their ancient endowments; however, they owed their safety to his lenity, and not to the protection of this base and degenerate parliament. Nor was he less just upon another occasion, with regard to the suggestions of his council, who had long conceived an hatred against Cranmer, and laboured to destroy him. This just and moderate man had all along owed his safety to his integrity; and scorning intrigue himself, was therefore the less liable to be circum-

cumvented by the intrigues of others. The catholic party had long represented to the king that Cranmer was the secret cause of most of the divisions which tore the nation, as his example and support were the chief props of heresy. Henry seeing the point to which they tended, and desirous of knowing how far they would carry their intrigues, feigned a compliance with their wishes, and ordered the council to make inquiry into the primate's conduct and crimes. All the world concluded that his disgrace was certain, and his death inevitable. His old friends who, from mercenary motives, had been attached to him, now began to treat him with mortifying neglect; he was obliged to stand several hours among the servants at the door of the council-chamber before they deigned to admit him; and he made his appearance among them only to be informed that they had determined to send him to the Tower. But Cranmer was not to be intimidated with their menaces; he appealed to the king; and when that was denied him, he produced a ring, which Henry had given him, to make use of upon that emergency. The council was confounded; and still more so, when, in the presence of the king, they found themselves severely reproved, and Cranmer taken into more than former favour. Henry obliged them all to embrace, as a sign of their reconciliation; and Cranmer, from his gentle nature, rendered this reconciliation more sincere on his part than is usual in such forced compliances.

Still, however, the king's severity to the rest of his subjects continued as fierce as ever. For some time he had been incommoded by an ulcer in his leg; the pain of which, added to his corpu-

corpulence, and other infirmities, increased his natural irascibility to such a degree, that scarce any of even his domestics approached him without terror. It was not to be expected, therefore, that any who differed from him in opinion should, at this time particularly, hope for pardon. Among the many, whose unmerited sufferings excite our pity and indignation, the fate of Anne Askew deserves to be particularly remembered. This lady was a woman of merit as well as beauty, and connected with many of the principal ladies at court. It is said that she kept up a correspondence with the queen herself, who secretly favoured the reformation; and this correspondence only served to hasten this poor woman's ruin, the chancellor being known to be her enemy. However this be, she happened to differ from the established code of belief, particularly in the article of the real presence; and, notwithstanding the weakness of her sex and age, she was thrown into prison, and accused of heresy. In this situation, with courage far beyond what might be expected, she employed her time in composing prayers and discourses, and vindicating the truth of her opinions. The chancellor, who was much attached to the catholic party, was sent to examine her with regard to her abettors at court; but she maintained the utmost secrecy, and would accuse none. In consequence of this contumacy, as it was called, the poor young lady was put to the torture; but she still continued resolute, and her silence testified her contempt of their petty cruelties. The chancellor, therefore, became outrageous, and ordered the lieutenant of the Tower, who executed this punishment, to stretch the rack still harder; which he refusing

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to do, and, though menaced, still persisting in a refusal, the chancellor, intoxicated with religious zeal, grasped the cords himself, and drew it so violently that the woman's body was almost torn asunder. But her constancy was greater than the barbarity of her persecutors; so that, finding no other method to subdue her, she was condemned to be burned alive. She received this sentence with a transport of joy, and as a release from a state of the greatest pain to the greatest felicity. As all her joints had been dislocated by the rack, so that she could not stand, she was carried to the place of execution in a chair. Together with her were brought Nicholas Belenian, a priest, John Lascelles, of the king's household, and John Adams, a taylor, who had all been condemned for the same crime. They were tied to the stake; and in that dreadful situation informed, that, upon recanting, they should be granted their lives. But they refused a life that was to be gained by such prostitution; and they saw with tranquillity the executioner kindle the flames which consumed them.

From this indiscriminate severity the queen was not herself entirely secure. She had for some time attended the king in his indisposition, and endeavoured to sooth him by her arts and assiduity. His favourite topic of conversation was theology; and Catharine, who was tinctured with the spirit of the times, would now and then enter into a debate with him upon many speculative tenets that were then in agitation between the Catholics and Lutherans. Henry, highly provoked that she should presume to differ from him, made complaints of her obstinacy to Gardiner, who gladly laid hold of the opportunity to

inflame the quarrel. Even articles of impeachment were drawn up against her, which were brought to the king by the chancellor to be signed; but, in returning home, he happened to drop the paper. It was very lucky for the queen that the person who found it was in her interests; it was immediately carried to her, and the contents soon made her sensible of the danger to which she was exposed. In this exigence she was resolved to work upon the king; and paying him her customary visit, he led her as usual to the subject of theology, which at first she seemed to decline, but in which she afterwards engaged, as if merely to gratify his inclinations. In the course of her conversation, however, she gave him to know, that her whole aim in talking was to receive his instructions, and not to controvert them; that it was not for her to set her opinions in opposition to those that served to direct the nation; but she alleged, she could not help trying every art that could induce the king to exert that eloquence which served, for the time, to mitigate his bodily pain. Henry seemed charmed at this discovery; "And is it so, sweet heart?" cried he: "then we are perfect friends again." Just after this reconciliation, the chancellor made his appearance, with a party of forty pursuivants at his heels, prepared to take the queen into custody. But the king advanced to meet him, and seemed to expostulate with him in the severest terms. The queen could overhear the terms, knave, fool, and beast, which he very liberally bestowed upon that magistrate, and his being ordered to depart. When he was gone, she interposed in his defence; but the king could not help saying, "Poor soul, you know not how little

little entitled this man is to your good offices." From thenceforth the queen was careful not to offend Henry's humour by contradiction; she was contented to suffer the divines to dispute, and the executioner to destroy. The fires accordingly were kindled against the heretics of both sides, as usual; during which dreadful exhibitions, the king would frequently assemble the houses of parliament, and harangue them with florid orations, in which he would aver, that never prince had a greater affection for his people, nor ever people had a greater affection for their king. In every pause of these extraordinary orations, some of his creatures, near his person, would begin to applaud; and this was followed by loud acclamations from all the rest of the audience.

But though his health was declining apace, yet his implacable cruelties were not the less frequent. His resentments were diffused indiscriminately to all; at one time a protestant, and at another a catholic, were the objects of his severity. The duke of Norfolk, and his son the earl of Surry, were the last that felt the injustice of the tyrant's groundless suspicions. The duke was a nobleman who had served the king with talents and fidelity; his son was a young man of the most promising hopes, who excelled in every accomplishment that became a scholar, a courtier, and a soldier. He excelled in all the military exercises which were then in request; he encouraged the fine arts by his practice and example; and it is remarkable that he was the first who brought our language, in his poetical pieces, to any degree of refinement. He celebrated the fair Geraldina in all his sonnets, and

maintained her superior beauty in all places of public contention. These qualifications, however, were no safeguard to him against Henry's suspicions; he had dropt some expressions of resentment against the king's ministers, upon being displaced from the government of Boulogne; and the whole family was become obnoxious from the late incontinency of Catharine Howard, the queen, who was executed. From these motives, therefore, private orders were given to arrest the father and son; and accordingly they were arrested both on the same day, and confined in the Tower. Surry being a commoner, his trial was the more expeditious; and as to proofs, there were many informers base enough to betray the intimacies of private confidence, and all the connections of blood. The duchess dowager of Richmond, Surry's own sister, enlisted herself among the number of his accusers; and sir Richard Southwell also, his most intimate friend, charged him with infidelity to the king. It would seem that, at this dreary period, there was neither faith nor honour to be found in all the nation. Surry denied the charge, and challenged his accuser to single combat. This favour was refused him; and it was alleged, that he had quartered the arms of Edward the Confessor on his escutcheon, which alone was sufficient to convict him of aspiring to the crown. To this he could make no reply; and indeed any answer would have been needless, for neither parliaments, nor juries, during this reign, seemed to be guided by any other proofs but the will of the crown. This young nobleman was, therefore, condemned for high-treason, notwithstanding his eloquent and spirited defence; and

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the sentence was soon after executed upon him on Tower-Hill. In the mean time the duke endeavoured to mollify the king by letters and submissions; but the monster's hard heart was rarely subject to tender impressions. The parliament meeting on the fourteenth day of January, A. D. 1546. a bill of attainder was found against the duke of Norfolk, as it was thought he could not so easily have been convicted on a fair hearing by his peers. The only crime that his accusers could allege against him was, that he had once said that the king was sickly, and could not hold out long; and the kingdom was likely to be torn between the contending parties of different persuasions. Cranmer, though engaged for many years in an opposite party to Norfolk, and though he had received many and great injuries from him, would have no hand in so unjust a prosecution; but retired to his seat at Croydon. However, the death-warrant was made out, and immediately sent to the lieutenant of the Tower. The duke prepared for death, as the following morning was to be his last; but an event of greater consequence to the kingdom intervened, and prevented his execution.

The king had been for some time approaching fast towards his end; and for several days all those about his person plainly saw that his speedy death was inevitable. The disorder in his leg was now grown extremely painful; and this, added to his monstrous corpulency, which rendered him unable to stir, made him more furious than a chained lion. He had been ever stern and severe; he was now outrageous. In this state he had continued for near four years before his death, the terror of all, and the tormentor

of himself; his courtiers having no inclination to make an enemy of him, as they were more ardently employed in conspiring the death of each other. In this manner, therefore, he was suffered to struggle, without any of his domestics having the courage to warn him of his approaching end, as more than once, during this reign, persons had been put to death for foretelling the death of the king. At last, sir Anthony Denny had the courage to disclose to him this dreadful secret; and, contrary to his usual custom, he received the tidings with an expression of resignation. His anguish and remorse were at this time greater than can be expressed; he desired that Cranmer might be sent for; but before that prelate could arrive, he was speechless. Cranmer desiring him to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ, he squeezed his hand, and immediately expired, after a reign of thirty-seven years, and nine months, in the fifty-sixth
A. D. 1547. year of his age. Some kings have been tyrants from contradiction and revolt, some from being misled by favourites, and some from a spirit of party; but Henry was cruel from a depraved disposition alone; cruel in government, cruel in religion, and cruel in his family. Our divines have taken some pains to vindicate the character of this brutal prince, as if his conduct and our reformation had any connexion with each other. There is nothing so absurd as to defend the one by the other; the most noble designs are brought about by the most vicious instruments; for we see even that cruelty and injustice were thought necessary to be employed in our holy redemption.

With regard to foreign states, Henry made some

some expeditions into France, which were attended with vast expense to the nation, and brought it no kind of advantage. However, he all along maintained an intercourse of friendship with Francis, which appeared disinterested and sincere. Against the Scots he was rather more successful; his generals having worsted their incursive armies on several occasions. They particularly gained a signal advantage, besides that already related of Flodden-field, at a place near Pinkey-house, in which near ten thousand Scots were slain. But that which gave England the greatest ascendency over that nation, was the spirit of concord which soon after seemed to prevail between the two kingdoms, and that seemed to pave the way for their being in time united under the same sovereign. There were ten parliaments summoned in this reign, and twenty-three sessions held; but the whole time in which these parliaments sat, during this long reign, did not exceed three years and a half. The foreign commerce of England, during this age, was mostly confined to the Netherlands. The merchants of the Low-Countries bought the English commodities, and distributed them into the other parts of Europe. These commodities, however, were generally little more than the natural productions of the country, without any manufactures; for it must be observed at this time that foreign artificers much surpassed the English in dexterity, industry, and frugality; and it is said that at one time not less than fifteen thousand artisans, of the Flemish nation alone, were settled in London.



CHAP. XXIV.

EDWARD VI.

HENRY the Eighth was succeeded on the throne by his only son, Edward the Sixth, then in the ninth year of his age. The late king, in his will, which he expected would be absolutely obeyed, fixed his majority of the prince at the completion of the eighteenth year; and, in the mean time, appointed sixteen executors of his will, to whom, during the minority, he entrusted the government of the king and kingdom. But the vanity of his aims was soon discovered; for the first act of the executors was to chuse the earl of Hertford, who was afterwards made duke of Somerset,

Somerset, as protector of the realm; and in him was lodged all the regal power, together with a privilege of naming whom he would for his privy-council.

This was a favourable season for those of the reformed religion; and the eyes of the late king were no sooner closed than all of that persuasion congratulated themselves on the event. They no longer suppressed their sentiments, but maintained their doctrines openly, in preaching and teaching, even while the laws against them continued in full force. The protector had long been regarded as the secret partisan of the reformers; and, being now freed from restraint, he scrupled not to express his intention of correcting all the abuses of the ancient religion, and of adopting still more the doctrines propagated by Luther. His power was not a little strengthened by his success against an incursion of the Scots, in which about eight hundred of their army were slain; and the popularity which he gained upon this occasion seconded his views in the farther propagation of the new doctrines. But the character of Somerset did not stand in need of the mean supports of popularity acquired in this manner, as he was naturally humble, civil, affable, and courteous, to the meanest suitor, while all his actions were directed by motives of piety and honour.

The protector, in his schemes for advancing the reformation, had always recourse to the counsels of Cranmer, who, being a man of moderation and prudence, was averse to violent changes, and determined to bring over the people by insensible innovations to his own peculiar system. The person who opposed with the great-

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est authority any farther advances towards reformation, was Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who, though he had not obtained a place at the council-board, yet, from his age, experience, and capacity, was regarded by most men with some degree of veneration. Upon a general visitation of the church, which had been commanded by the primate and protector, Gardiner defended the use of images, which was now very openly attacked by the protestants; he even wrote an apology for holy water; but he particularly alleged, that it was unlawful to make any change in religion during the king's minority. This opposition of Gardiner drew on him the indignation of the council; and he was sent to the Fleet prison, where he was used with much harshness and severity.

These internal regulations were in some measure retarded by the war with Scotland, which still continued to rage with some violence. But a defeat which that nation suffered at Musselborough, in which above ten thousand perished in the field of battle, induced them to sue for peace, in order to gain time; and the protector returned to settle the business of the reformation, which was as yet only begun. But, though he acquired great popularity by this expedition, he did not fail to attract the envy of several noblemen, by procuring a patent from the young king his nephew, to sit in parliament on the right hand of the throne, and to enjoy the same honours and privileges which had usually been granted the uncles of kings in England. However, he still drove on his favourite schemes of reformation, and gave more consistency to the tenets of the church. The cup was restored to the

the laity in the sacrament of the Lord's supper; private masses were abolished; the king was empowered to create bishops by letters-patent; vagabonds were adjudged to be slaves for two years, and to be marked with a red-hot iron; an act commonly supposed to be levelled against the strolling priests and friars. It was enacted also, that all who denied the king's supremacy, or asserted the pope's, should, for the first offence, forfeit their goods and chattels, and suffer imprisonment during pleasure; for the second offence they were to incur the pain of premunire, and for the third offence to be attainted of treason. Orders were soon after issued by the council that candles should no longer be carried about on Candlemas-day, ashes on Ash-Wednesday, or palms on Palm-Sunday. These were ancient superstitious practices, which led to immoralities that it was thought proper to restrain. An order also was issued for the removal of all images from the churches; an innovation which was much desired by the reformers, and which alone, with regard to the populace, amounted almost to a change of the established religion. The people had for some time been extremely distracted by the opposite opinions of their preachers; and as they were totally incapable of judging the arguments advanced on either side, and naturally regarded every thing they heard at church as of the greatest authority, much confusion and fluctuation resulted from this uncertainty. The council first endeavoured to remove the inconvenience by laying some restraints upon preaching; but finding this expedient fail, they imposed a total silence upon preachers, which, however, was removed

removed by degrees, in proportion as the reformation gained ground among the people.

But these innovations, evidently calculated for the good of the people, were not brought about without some struggles at home, while the protector was but too busily employed against the Scots, who, united with, and seconded by, France, still pushed on their inroads with unremitting animosity. Besides, there was still an enemy that he had yet to fear more than any of the former; and this was his own brother, lord Thomas Seymour, the admiral, a man of uncommon talents, but proud, turbulent, and untractable. This nobleman could not endure the distinction which the king had always made between him and his elder brother; so that they divided the whole court and the kingdom by their opposite cabals and pretensions. By his flattery and address he had so insinuated himself into the good graces of the queen-dowager, that, forgetting her usual prudence and decency, she married him immediately upon the decease of the late king. This match was particularly displeasing to the elder brother's wife, who now saw that, while her husband had the precedency in one place, she was obliged to yield it in another. His next step was to cabal and make a party among the nobility, who, as they hated his brother, fomented his ambition. He then bribed the king's domestics to his interest; and young Edward frequently went to his house, on pretence of visiting the queen. There he ingratiated himself with his sovereign, by the most officious assiduities, particularly by supplying him with money to distribute among his servants and favourites, without the knowledge of his governor.

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In the protector's absence with the army in Scotland, he made it his business to redouble all his arts and insinuations; and thus obtained a new patent for admiral, with an additional appointment. Sir William Paget, perceiving the progress he daily made in the king's affection, wrote to the protector on the subject, who finished the campaign in Scotland with all possible dispatch, that he might return in time to counter-work his machinations. But before he could arrive in England, the admiral had engaged in his party several of the principal nobility, and had even prevailed on the king himself to write a letter to the two houses of parliament with his own hand, desiring that the admiral might be appointed his governor; but the council being apprised of his schemes, sent deputies to assure him, that, if he did not desist, they would deprive him of his office, send him prisoner to the Tower, and prosecute him on the last act of parliament, by which he was subject to the penalty of high-treason, for attempting to disturb the peace of the government. It was not without some severe struggles within himself, and some menaces divulged among his creatures, that he thought proper to submit, and desired to be reconciled to his brother. Yet he still nourished the same designs in secret; and his brother, suspecting his sincerity, employed spies to inform him of all his private transactions.

But it was not in the power of persuasions or menaces to shake the admiral's unalterable views of ambition. His spouse, the queen-dowager, had died in child-bed; and this accident, far from repressing his schemes, only seemed to promote them. He made his addresses to the princess

cess Elizabeth, afterwards so revered by the English; and it is said that she listened to his insinuations, contrary to the will of her father, who had excluded her the succession, in case she married without the consent of council. The admiral, however, it is observed, had projects of getting over that objection; and his professions seemed to give reason to believe that he intended aiming at regal authority. By promises and persuasions he brought over many of the principal nobility to his party; he neglected not even the most popular persons of inferior rank; and he computed that he could on occasion command the service of ten thousand men among his servants, tenants, and retainers. He had already provided arms for their use; and having engaged in his interests
A. D. 1548. sir John Sharrington, master of the mint at Bristol, a very corrupt man, he flattered himself that money would not be wanting.

Somerset being well ascertained of all these alarming circumstances, endeavoured, by every expedient that his power or his near connection could suggest, to draw him from his designs. He reasoned, he threatened, he heaped new favours upon him; but all to no purpose. At last he resolved to make use of the last dreadful remedy, and to attaint his own brother of high-treason. In consequence of this resolution, and secretly advised to it by Dudley, earl of Warwick, a wicked ambitious man, who expected to rise upon the downfall of the two brothers, he deprived him of his office of high-admiral, and signed a warrant for committing him to the Tower. Yet still the protector suspended the blow, and showed reluctance to ruin one so nearly connected with himself: he offered once more to

to be sincerely reconciled, and give him his life, if he was contented to spend the remainder of his days in retirement and repentance. But finding himself unable to work on the inflexible temper of his brother by any methods but severity, he ordered a charge to be drawn up against him, consisting of thirty-three articles; and the whole to be brought into parliament, which was now become the instrument by which the administration usually punished their enemies. The charge being brought first into the house of lords, several peers, rising up in their places, gave an account of what they knew concerning lord Seymour's conduct, and his criminal words and actions. There was more difficulty in managing the prosecution in the house of commons; but upon receiving a message from the king, requiring them to proceed, the bill passed in a very full house, near four hundred voting for it, and not above nine or ten against it. The sentence was soon after executed by beheading him on Tower-Hill. His death, however, was, in general, disagreeable to the nation, who considered the lord Seymour as hardly dealt with, in being condemned upon general allegations, without having an opportunity of making a defence, or confronting his accusers. But the chief odium fell upon the protector; and it must be owned that there was no reason for carrying his severity to such a length as he did.

This obstacle being removed, the protector went on to reform and regulate the new system of religion, which was now become the chief concern of the nation. A committee of bishops and divines had been appointed by the council to frame a liturgy for the service of the church; and

and this work was executed with great moderation, precision, and accuracy. A law was also enacted, permitting priests to marry; the ceremony of auricular confession, though not abolished, was left at the discretion of the people, who were not displeased at being freed from the spiritual tyranny of their instructors; the doctrine of the real presence was the last tenet of popery that was wholly abandoned by the people, as both the clergy and laity were loth to renounce so miraculous a benefit as it was asserted to be. However, at last, not only this, but all the principal opinions and practices of the catholic religion, contrary to what the scripture authorises, were abolished; and the reformation, such as we have it, was almost entirely
A. D. 1549. completed in England. With all these innovations the people and clergy in general acquiesced; and Gardiner and Bonner were the only persons whose opposition was thought of any weight; they were, therefore, sent to the Tower, and threatened with the king's farther displeasure in case of disobedience.

But it had been well for the credit of the reformers, had they stopt at imprisonment only. They also resolved to become persecutors in turn; and although the very spirit of their doctrines arose from a freedom of thinking, yet they could not bear that any should controvert what they had been at so much pains to establish. A commission was granted to the primate and some others, to search after all anabaptists, heretics, or contemners of the new liturgy. Among the number of those who were supposed to incur guilt upon this occasion, was one Joan Boucher, commonly called Joan of Kent; who was so extremely

tremely obstinate, that the commissioners could gain nothing upon her. She had maintained an abstruse metaphysical sentiment, that Christ, as man, was a sinful man; but as the Word, he was free from sin, and could be subject to none of the frailties of the flesh with which he was cloth-ed. For maintaining this doctrine, which none of them could understand, this poor ignorant woman was condemned to be burnt to death as a heretic. The young king, who, it seems, had more sense than his ministers, refused at first to sign the death-warrant; but being at last press-ed by Cranmer, and vanquished by his impor-tunities, he reluctantly complied; declaring, that, if he did wrong, the sin should be on the head of those who had persuaded him to it. The pri-mate, after making a new effort to reclaim the woman from her opinions, and finding her obstinate against all his arguments, at last com-mitted her to the flames. Some time after, one Van Paris, a Dutchman, being accused of a he-resy called Arianism, was condemned to the same punishment. He suffered with so much satis-faction, that he hugged and caressed the faggots that were consuming him; and died exulting in his situation.

Although these measures were intended for the benefit of the nation, and in the end turned out en-tirely to the advantage of society, yet they were at that time attended with many inconveniences, to which all changes whatsoever are liable. When the monasteries were suppressed, a prodigious number of monks were obliged to earn their subsistence by their labour; so that all kinds of business were overstocked. The lands of the monasteries also had been formerly farmed out

to the common people, so as to employ a great number of hands; and the rents being moderate, they were able to maintain their families on the profits of agriculture. But now these lands being possessed by the nobility, the rents were raised; and the farmers, perceiving that wool was a better commodity than corn, turned all their fields into pasture. In consequence of this practice, the price of meal arose, to the unspeakable hardship of the lower class of people. Beside, as few hands were required to manage a pasture farm, a great number of poor people were utterly deprived of subsistence, while the nation was filled with murmurs and complaints against the nobility, who were considered as the sources of the general calamity. To add to these complaints, the rich proprietors of lands proceeded to inclose their estates; while the tenants, regarded as an useless burthen, were expelled their habitations. Even cottagers, deprived of the commons on which they formerly fed their cattle, were reduced to misery; and a great decay of people, as well as a diminution of provisions, was observed in every part of the kingdom. To add to this picture of general calamity, all the good coin of the kingdom was hoarded up or exported abroad; while a base metal was coined at home, or imported from abroad in great abundance; and this the poor were obliged to receive in payment, but could not disburse at an equal advantage. Thus an universal diffidence and stagnation of commerce took place; and nothing but loud complaints were heard in every quarter.

The protector, who knew that his own power was to be founded on the depression of the nobility, espoused

espoused the cause of the sufferers. He appointed commissioners to examine whether the possessors of the church-lands had fulfilled the conditions on which those lands had been sold by the crown; and ordered all late inclosures to be laid open on an appointed day. As the object of this commission was very disagreeable to the gentry and nobility, they called it arbitrary and illegal, while the common people, fearing it would be eluded, and being impatient for redress, rose in great numbers, and sought a remedy by force of arms. The rising began at once in several parts of England, as if an universal conspiracy had been formed among the people. The rebels in Wiltshire were dispersed by sir William Herbert; those of Oxford and Gloucester, by lord Grey of Wilton; the commotions in Hampshire, Sussex, Kent, and other counties, were quieted by gentle methods; but the disorders in Devonshire and Norfolk were the most obstinate, and threatened the greatest danger. In the first of these counties, the insurgents, amounting to ten thousand men, were headed by one Humphry Arundel, an experienced soldier; and they were still more encouraged by sermons, which gave their revolt the air of a religious confederacy. They accordingly sent a set of articles to court, which, in general, demanded an abolition of the statutes lately made in favour of the reformation; but the ministry rejected their demands with contempt, at the same time offering a pardon to all that would lay down their arms and return to their habitations. But the insurgents were now too far advanced to recede; and, still encouraged by the monks who were with them, they laid siege to Exeter, carrying before them crosses,

banners, holy-water, candlesticks, and other implements of their ancient superstition; but the town was gallantly defended by the inhabitants. In the mean time, lord Russel had been sent against them with a small body of forces; and, being reinforced by lord Grey and others, he attacked and drove them from all their entrenchments. Great slaughter was committed upon these deluded creatures, both in the action and the pursuit. Arundel, their leader, and several others, were sent to London, where they were condemned and executed. Many of the inferior sort were put to death by martial law. The vicar of St. Thomas, one of the principal incendiaries, was hanged on the top of his own steeple, arrayed in his popish habits, with his beads at his girdle.

The sedition in Norfolk appeared still more alarming. The insurgents there amounted to twenty thousand men; and, as their forces were numerous, their demands were exorbitant. They required the suppression of the gentry, the placing new counsellors about the king, and the establishment of their ancient rights. One Ket, a tanner, had assumed a priority among them; he erected his tribunal near Norwich, under an old oak, which was termed the Oak of Reformation. He afterwards undertook the siege of Norwich, which having reduced, he imprisoned the mayor, and some of the principal citizens. The marquis of Northampton was first sent down against them, but met with a repulse; the earl of Warwick followed soon after, at the head of six thousand men, and, coming to a general engagement, put them entirely to the rout. Two thousand of them fell in the fight and pursuit;

suit; Ket was hanged at Norwich castle, nine of his followers on the boughs of the Oak of Reformation; and the insurrection, which was the last in favour of popery, was thus entirely suppressed.

But though the suppression of these insurrections seemed to be very favourable to the interests of the protector, yet the authority which the earl of Warwick gained in quelling that of Norfolk terminated in Somerset's ruin. Of all the ministers at that time in the council, Dudley, earl of Warwick, was the most artful, ambitious, and unprincipled. Resolved at any rate to possess the principal place under the king, he cared not what means were to be used in acquiring it. However, unwilling to throw off the mask, he covered the most exorbitant views under the fairest appearances. Having associated himself with the earl of Southampton, he formed a strong party in the council, who were determined to free themselves from the controul the protector assumed over them. That nobleman was, in fact, now grown obnoxious to a very prevailing party in the kingdom. He was hated by the nobles for his superior magnificence and power; he was hated by the catholic party for his regard to the reformation; he was disliked by many for his severity to his brother; besides, the great estate he had raised at the expense of the church and the crown rendered him obnoxious to all. The palace which he was then building in the Strand, served also, by its magnificence, and still more by the unjust methods that were taken to raise it, to expose him to the censures of the public. The parish church of St. Mary,

with three bishops' houses, were pulled down, to furnish ground and materials for the structure. Several other churches were demolished, to have their stones employed for the same purpose; and it was not without an insurrection, that the parishioners of St. Margaret's, Westminster, prevented their church from being pulled down to make room for the new fabric.

These imprudences were soon exaggerated and enlarged upon by Somerset's enemies. They represented him as a parricide, a sacrilegious tyrant, and an unjust usurper upon the privileges of the council and the rights of the king. In consequence of this, the lord St. John, president of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton, and Arundel, with five counsellors more, met at Ely-house; and assuming to themselves the whole power of the council, began to act independent of the protector, whom they pretended to consider as the author of every public grievance. They wrote letters to the chief nobility and gentry of England, informing them of the present measures, and requiring their assistance. They sent for the mayor and aldermen of London, and enjoined them to concur in their measures, which they represented as the only means of saving the nation. The next day several others of the council joined the seceding members; and the protector now began to tremble, not for his authority, but his life.

Octob. 6, 1549.

He had no sooner been informed of these transactions than he sent the king to Windsor, and armed the inhabitants of Hampton and Windsor also for his security. But finding that no man of rank, except Cranmer and Paget, adhered

adhered to him, and that the people did not rsie at his summons; perceiving that he was in a manner deserted by all, and that all resistance was fruitless, he resolved to apply to his enemies for pardon. This gave fresh strength and confidence to the party of Warwick; they assured the king, with the humblest professions of obedience, that their only aim was to put the council on the same footing on which it had been ordained by the will of their late sovereign, and to rescue his authority from the hands of a man who had assumed all power to himself. The king, who never much cared for Somerset, gave their address a favourable reception; and the protector was sent to the Tower, with some of his friends and partisans, among whom was Cecil, afterwards earl of Salisbury. Mean while the council ordered six lords to act as governors to the king, two at a time officiating alternately. It was then, for the first time, that the earl of Warwick's ambition began to appear in full splendor; he set himself forward as the principal promoter of the protector's ruin; and the other members, without the least opposition, permitted him to assume the reins of government.

It was now supposed that Somerset's fate was fixed, as his enemies were numerous, and the charges against him of the most heinous nature. The chief article of which he was accused was his usurpation of the government, and the taking all power into his own hands; several others of a slighter tint were added to invigorate this accusation; but none of them could be said to amount to the crime of high treason. In consequence of these, a bill of attainder was preferred against him in the house of lords; but Somerset

contrived, for this time, to elude the rigour of their sentence, by having previously, on his knees, confessed the charge before the members of the council. This confession, which he signed with his own hand, was alleged and read against him at the bar of the house, who once more sent a deputation to him, to know whether the confession was voluntary or extorted. Somerset thanked them for their candour; owned that it was his voluntary act, but strenuously insisted, that he had never harboured a sinister thought against the king or the commonwealth. In consequence of this confession, he was deprived of all his offices and goods, together with a great part of his landed estate, which was forfeited to the use of the crown. This fine on his estate was soon after remitted by the king; and Somerset once more, contrary to the expectation of all, recovered his liberty. He was even re-admitted into the council: happy for him, if his ambition had not revived with his security!

The catholics were extremely elevated at the protector's fall; and they began to entertain hopes of a revolution in their favour. But they were mistaken in their opinion of Warwick, who now took the lead, as ambition was the only principle in his breast; and to that he was resolved to sacrifice all others. He soon gave instances of his disregard in religious points, by his permitting Gardiner to undergo the penalties prescribed against disobedience. Many of the prelates, and he among the rest, though they made some compliance, were still addicted to their ancient communion. A resolution was therefore taken to deprive them of their fees; and it was thought proper to begin with him,

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in order to strike a terror into the rest. He had been now for two years in prison, for having refused to inculcate the duty of obedience to the king during his minority; and the council took this opportunity to send him several articles to subscribe, among which was one, acknowledging the justice of the order for his confinement. He was likewise to own that the king was supreme head of the church; that the power of making and dispensing holidays was a part of the prerogative; and that the Common Prayer Book was a godly and commendable form. Gardiner was willing to put his hand to all the articles, except that by which he accused himself, which he refused to do, justly perceiving that their aim was either to ruin or dishonour him. For this offence he was deprived of his bishoprick, committed to close custody; his books and papers were seised; all company was denied him; and he was not even permitted the use of pen and ink. This severity, in some measure, countenanced those which this prelate had afterwards an opportunity of retaliating when he came into power.

But the reformers did not stop here; the rapacious courtiers, never to be satisfied, and giving their violence an air of zeal, deprived, in the same manner, Day, bishop of Chichester, Heathe of Worcester, and Voisy of Exeter. The bishops of Landaff, Salisbury, and Coventry, came off something more advantageously, by sacrificing the most considerable share of their ecclesiastical revenues. Not only the revenues of the church, but the libraries also, underwent a dreadful scrutiny. The libraries of Westminster and Oxford were ordered to be ransacked, and purged of the Romish missals, legends, and other superstitious

stitious volumes; in which search great devastation was made even in useful literature. Many volumes, clasped in silver, were destroyed for the sake of their rich bindings; many of geometry and astronomy were supposed to be magical, and met no mercy. The university, unable to stop the fury of those barbarians, silently looked on, and trembled for its own security.

Warwick was willing to indulge the nobility with these humiliations of the church; and perceiving that the king was extremely attached to the reformation, he supposed that he could not make his court to the young monarch better than by a seeming zeal in the cause. But he was still steadfastly bent on enlarging his own power; and, as the last earl of Northumberland died without issue or heirs, Warwick procured for himself a grant of his ample possessions, and obtained the title also of duke of Northumberland. The duke of Somerset was now the only person he wished to have entirely removed; for though fallen as he was by his late spiritless conduct, yet he still preserved a share of popularity that rendered him formidable to this aspirer. Indeed Somerset was not always upon his guard against the arts of Northumberland, but could not help now and then bursting out into invectives, which were quickly carried to his secret enemy. As he was surrounded by Northumberland's creatures, they took care to reveal all the designs which they had themselves first suggested; and Somerset soon found the fatal effects of his rival's resentment. He was, by Northumberland's command, arrested, with many more accused of being his partisans; and he was, with his wife the duchess, also thrown into prison. He was now

accused

accused of having formed a design to raise an insurrection in the North; of attacking the train-bands on a muster-day; of plotting to secure the Tower, and to excite a rebellion in London. These charges he strenuously denied; but he confessed to one of as heinous a nature, which was, that he had laid a project for murdering Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, at a banquet which was to be given them by lord Paget. He was soon after brought to a trial before the marquis of Winchester, who sat as high-steward on the occasion, with twenty-seven peers more, including Northumberland, Pembroke, and Northampton, who were at once his judges and accusers. He was accused of an intention to secure the person of the king, and re-assume the administration of affairs, to assassinate the duke of Northumberland, and raise an insurrection in the city. He pleaded not guilty to the first part of the charge, and of this he was accordingly acquitted; but he was found guilty of conspiring the death of a privy counsellor, which crime had been made felony in the reign of Henry the Seventh; and for this he was condemned to death. The populace seeing him re-conveyed to the Tower without the axe, which was no longer carried before him, imagined that he had been entirely acquitted, and in repeated shouts and acclamations manifested their joy; but this was suddenly damped, when they were better informed of his doom. Care, in the mean time, had been taken to prepossess the young king against his uncle; and, lest he should relent, no access was given to any of Somerset's friends, while the prince was kept from reflection by a series of occupations and amuse-

amusements. At last the prisoner was brought to the scaffold on Tower-Hill, where he appeared, without the least emotion, in the midst of a vast concourse of the populace, by whom he was beloved. He spoke to them with great composure, protesting that he had always promoted the service of his king, and the interests of true religion, to the best of his power. The people attested their belief to what he said, by crying out, "It is most true." An universal tumult was beginning to take place; but Somerset desiring them to be still, and not to interrupt his last meditations, but to join with him in prayer, he laid down his head, and submitted to the stroke of the executioner. Sir Ralph Vane and sir Miles Partridge were hanged, and sir Michael Stanhope, with sir Thomas Arundel, were beheaded, as being his accomplices.

Nothing could have been more unpopular than the measure of destroying Somerset, who, though many actions of his life were very exceptionable, yet still consulted the good of the people. The house of commons was particularly attached to him; and of this Northumberland was very sensible. He therefore resolved to dissolve the parliament, and call another that would be more obsequious to his will. For this purpose he engaged the king to write circular letters to all the sheriffs, in which he enjoined them to chuse such men as he and the privy-council should recommend. With this despotic mandate the sheriffs immediately complied; and the members returned fully answered Northumberland's expectations. He had long aimed at the first authority; and the infirm state of the king's health opened the prospects of his ambition. He represented

presented to that young prince that his sisters Mary and Elizabeth, who were appointed by Henry's will to succeed on the failure of direct heirs to the crown, had been both declared illegitimate by parliament; that the queen of Scots, his aunt, stood excluded by the king's will, and being an alien also, lost all right of succeeding; that as the three princesses were thus legally excluded, the succession naturally devolved to the marchioness of Dorset, whose next heir was the lady Jane Grey, a lady every way accomplished for government, as well by the charms of her person as the virtues and acquirements of her mind. The king, who had long submitted to all the politic views of this designing minister, agreed to have the succession submitted to council, were Northumberland hoped to procure an easy concurrence.

In the mean time, as the king's health declined, the minister laboured to strengthen his own interests and connexions. His first aim was to secure the interests of the marquis of Dorset, father to lady Jane Grey, by procuring for him the title of duke of Suffolk, which was lately become extinct. Having thus obliged this nobleman, he then proposed a match between his fourth son, lord Guilford Dudley, and the lady Jane Grey, whose interests he had been at so much pains to advance. Still bent on spreading his interests as widely as possible, he married his own daughter to lord Hastings, and had these marriages solemnised with all possible pomp and festivity. Mean while, Edward continued to languish; and several fatal symptoms of a consumption began to appear. It was hoped, however, that his youth and temperance might A. D. 1553.

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get the better of his disorders; and from their love the people were unwilling to think him in danger. It had been remarked indeed by some, that his health was visibly seen to decline, from the time that the Dudleys were brought about his person. The character of Northumberland might have justly given some colour to suspicion; and his removing all, except his own emissaries, from about the king, still farther increased the disgusts of the people. Northumberland was no way uneasy at their murmurs; he was assiduous in his attendance upon the king, and professed the most anxious concern for his safety, but still drove forward his darling scheme of transferring the succession to his own daughter-in-law. The judges who were appointed to draw up the king's letters-patent for that purpose warmly objected to the measure, and gave their reasons before the council. They begged that a parliament might be summoned, both to give it force, and to free its partisans from danger; they said, that the form was invalid, and would not only subject the judges who drew it, but every counsellor who signed it, to the pains of treason. Northumberland could not brook their demurs; he threatened them with the dread of his authority; he called one of them a traitor, and said that he would fight in his shirt with any man in so just a cause as that of the lady Jane's succession. A method was therefore found out of screening the judges from danger, by granting them the king's pardon for what they should draw up; and at length, after much deliberation, and some refusals, the patent for changing the succession was completed. Thus, by this patent, Mary and Elizabeth were set aside, and the crown was settled

on the heirs of the duchess of Suffolk; for the duchess herself was contented to forego her claim.

Northumberland having thus far succeeded, thought physicians were no longer serviceable in the king's complaint; they were dismissed by his advice; and Edward was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who very confidently undertook his cure. After the use of her medicines, all the bad symptoms increased to a most violent degree; he felt a difficulty of speech and breathing; his pulse failed, his legs swelled, his colour became livid, and many other symptoms appeared of his approaching end. He expired at Greenwich, in the sixteenth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign, greatly regretted by all, as his early virtues gave a prospect of the continuance of a happy reign. What were the real qualities of this young prince's heart, there was not time to discover; but the cultivation of his understanding, if we may credit historians, was amazing. He was said to understand the Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish, languages. He was versed in logic, music, natural philosophy, and theology. Cardan, the extraordinary scholar and physician, happening to pay a visit to the English court, was so astonished at his early progress, that he extols him as a prodigy of nature. It is probable, however, that so much flattery as he received would have contributed to corrupt him, as it had formerly corrupted his father. July 6, 1553.

CHAP.



CHAP. XXV.

MARY.

THE death of Edward only served to prepare fresh troubles for a people that had hitherto greatly suffered from the depravity of their kings, or the turbulence of their nobility. The succession to the throne had hitherto been obtained partly by lineal descent, and partly by the aptitude for government in the person chosen. Neither quite hereditary, nor quite elective, it had made ancestry the pretext of right, while the consent of the people was necessary to support all hereditary pretensions. In fact, when wisely conducted, this is the best species of succession that

that can be conceived, as it prevents that aristocracy which is ever the result of a government entirely elective, and that tyranny which is too often established where there is never an infringement on hereditary claims.

Whenever a monarch of England happened to be arbitrary, and to enlarge the prerogative, he generally considered the kingdom as his property, and not himself as a servant of the people. In such cases it was natural for him at his decease to bequeath his dominions as he thought proper, making his own will the standard of his subjects' happiness. Henry the Eighth, in conformity to this practice, made his will, in which he settled the succession merely according to his caprice. In that, Edward his son was the first nominated to succeed him; then Mary, his eldest daughter by Catharine of Spain; but with a special mark of condescension, by which he would intimate her illegitimacy. The next that followed was Elizabeth, his daughter by Anne Boleyn, with the same marks, intimating her illegitimacy also. After his own children, his sisters' children were mentioned; his younger sister the duchess of Suffolk's issue were preferred before those of their elder sister, the queen of Scotland; which preference was thought by all to be neither founded in justice, nor supported by reason. This will was now, however, set aside by the intrigues of Northumberland, by whose advice a will was made, as we have seen, in favour of lady Jane Grey, the duchess of Suffolk's daughter, in prejudice of all other claimants. Thus, after the death of this young monarch, there were no fewer than four princesses who could as-

sert their pretensions to the crown: Mary, who was the first upon Henry's will, but who had been declared illegitimate by an act of parliament, which was never repealed: Elizabeth was next to succeed; and though she had been declared illegitimate, yet she had been restored to her rights during her father's life-time. The queen of Scotland, Henry's eldest sister, was first in right, supposing the two daughters illegitimate, while lady Jane Grey might allege the will of the late king in her own favour.

Of these, however, only two put in their pretensions to the crown; Mary, relying on the justice of her cause, and lady Jane upon the support of the duke of Northumberland, her father-in-law. Mary was strongly bigoted to the popish superstitions, having been bred up among church-men, and having been even taught to prefer martyrdom to a denial of belief. As she had lived in continual restraint, she was reserved and gloomy; she had, even during the life of her father, the resolution to maintain her sentiments, and refused to comply with his new institutions. Her zeal had rendered her furious; and she was not only blindly attached to her religious opinions, but even to the popish clergy who maintained them. On the other hand, Jane Grey was strongly attached to the reformers; and, though yet but sixteen, her judgment had attained to such a degree of maturity as few have been found to possess. All historians agree that the solidity of her understanding, improved by continual application, rendered her the wonder of her age. Ascham, tutor to Elizabeth, informs us, that coming once to wait upon lady Jane at her father's house in Leicestershire,

shire, he found her reading Plato's works in Greek, while all the rest of the family were hunting in the park. Upon his testifying his surprise at her situation, she assured him that Plato was a higher amusement to her than the most studied refinements of sensual pleasure; and she in fact seemed born for philosophy, and not for ambition.

Such were the present rivals for power; but lady Jane had the start of her antagonist. Northumberland, now resolving to secure the succession, carefully concealed the death of Edward, in hope of securing the person of Mary, who, by an order of council, had been required to attend her brother during his illness; but being informed of his death, she immediately prepared to assert her pretensions to the crown. This crafty minister, therefore, finding that farther dissimulation was needless, went to Sion-house, accompanied by the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Pembroke, and others of the nobility, to salute lady Jane Grey, who resided there. Jane was in a great measure ignorant of all these transactions; and it was with equal grief and surprise that she received intelligence of them. She shed a flood of tears, appeared inconsolable, and it was not without the utmost difficulty that she yielded to the entreaties of Northumberland and the duke her father. At length, however, they exhorted her to consent, and next day conveyed her to the Tower, where it was then usual for the kings of England to pass some days after their accession. Thither also all the members of the council were obliged to attend her; and thus were in some measure made prisoners by Northumberland, whose will they were under a necessity

of obeying. Orders were given also for proclaiming her throughout the kingdom; but these were very remissly obeyed. When she was proclaimed in the city, the people heard her accession made public without any signs of pleasure: no applause ensued, and some even expressed their scorn and contempt.

In the mean time Mary, who had retired, upon the news of the king's death, to Kenning-Hall in Norfolk, sent circular letters to all the great towns and nobility in the kingdom, reminding them of her right, and commanding them to proclaim her without delay. Having taken these steps, she retired to Framlingham-Castle in Suffolk, that she might be near the sea, and escape to Flanders in case of failure. But she soon found her affairs wear the most promising aspect. The men of Suffolk came to pay her their homage; and being assured by her that she would defend the laws and the religion of her predecessor, they enlisted themselves in her cause with alacrity and affection. The people of Norfolk soon after came in; the earls of Bath and Sussex, the eldest sons of lord Wharton, and lord Mordaunt joined her; and lord Hastings, with four thousand men, who had been raised to oppose her, revolted to her side. Even a fleet, that had been sent to lie off the coast of Suffolk to prevent her escaping, engaged in her service; and now, but too late, Northumberland saw the deplorable end of all his schemes and ambition.

This minister, with the consent of the council, had assembled some troops at Newmarket, had set on foot new levies in London, and appointed the duke of Suffolk general of the army, that he might

might himself continue with, and over-awe the deliberations of the council. But he was turned from this manner of managing his affairs, by considering how unfit Suffolk was to head the army; so that he was obliged himself to take upon him the military command. It was now, therefore, that the council, being free from his influence, and no longer dreading his immediate authority, began to declare against him. Arundel led the opposition, by representing the injustice and cruelty of Northumberland, and the exorbitancy of his ambition. Pembroke seconded him with declarations that he was ready to fight all of a contrary opinion; the mayor and aldermen, who were sent for, readily came into the same measures; the people expressed their approbation by shouts and applauses; and even Suffolk himself, finding all resistance fruitless, threw open the gates of the Tower, and joined in the general cry. Mary's claims now became irresistible: in a little time she found herself at the head of forty thousand men; while the few who attended Northumberland continued irresolute; and he even feared to lead them to the encounter.

Lady Jane, thus finding that all was lost, resigned her royalty, which she had held but ten days, with marks of real satisfaction, and retired with her mother to her own habitation. Northumberland also, who found his affairs desperate, and that it was impossible to stem the tide of popular opposition, attempted to quit the kingdom; but he was prevented by the band of pensioner guards, who informed him that he must stay to justify their conduct in being led out against their lawful sovereign. Thus circumvent-

ed on all sides, his cunning was now his only resource; and he began by endeavouring to recommend himself to Mary, by the most extravagant protestations of zeal in her service. He repaired to the market-place in Cambridge, proclaimed her queen of England, and was the first to throw up his cap in token of joy. But he reaped no advantage from this mean duplicity; he was the next day arrested in the queen's name by the earl of Arundel, at whose feet he fell upon his knees, begging protection with the most abject submission. His three sons, his brother, and some more of his followers, were arrested with him, and committed to the Tower of London. Soon after, the lady Jane Grey, the duke of Suffolk her father, and lord Guilford Dudley her husband, were made prisoners by order of the queen, whose authority was now confirmed by universal assent.

Northumberland was the first who suffered for opposing her, and was the person who deserved the punishment the most. When brought to his trial, he openly desired permission to ask two questions of the peers who were appointed to sit on his jury: "Whether a man could be guilty of treason, who obeyed orders given him by the council under the great seal; and, whether those involved in the same guilt with himself could act as his judges?" Being told that the great seal of an usurper was no authority; and that his judges were proper, as they were unimpeached; he acquiesced, and pleaded guilty. At his execution, he owned himself a papist, and exhorted the people to return to the catholic faith, as they hoped for happiness and tranquillity. Sir John Gates and sir Thomas Palmer, two

of

of the infamous tools of his power, suffered with him; and the queen's resentment was appeased by the lives of three men, who had forfeited them by several former crimes. Sentence was pronounced against lady Jane and lord Guilford, but without any intention for the present of putting it in execution: the youth and innocence of the persons, neither of whom had reached their seventeenth year, pleaded powerfully in their favour.

Mary now entered London, and, with very little effusion of blood, saw herself joyfully proclaimed, and peaceably settled on the throne. This was the crisis of English happiness: a queen whose right was the most equitable, in some measure elected by the people, the aristocracy of the last reign almost wholly suppressed, the house of commons by this means re-instated in its ancient authority, the pride of the clergy humbled, and their vices detected, peace abroad and unanimity at home: this was the flattering prospect on Mary's accession; but soon this pleasing phantom was dissolved. Mary was morose, and a bigot; she was resolved to give back their former power to the clergy, and thus once more to involve the kingdom in all the horrors it had just emerged from. The queen had promised the men of Suffolk, who first came to declare in her favour, that she would suffer religion to remain in the situation in which she found it. This promise, however, she by no means intended to perform; she had determined on bringing the sentiments of the people to correspond with her own; and her extreme ignorance rendered her utterly incapable of doubting her own belief, or of granting indulgence to the doubts of

others. Gardiner, Bonner, Tonstal, Day, Heath, and Vesey, who had been confined, or suffered losses for their catholic opinions, during the late reigns, were taken from prison, re-instated in their sees, and their former sentences repealed. On pretence of discouraging controversy, she silenced, by her prerogative, all preachers throughout England, except such as should obtain a particular license, which she was previously determined to grant only to those of her own persuasion. Men now foresaw that the reformation was to be overturned; and though the queen still pretended that she would grant a general toleration, yet no great favour could be expected by those who were hateful to her from inveterate prejudices.

The first step that caused an alarm among the protestants was the severe treatment of Cranmer, whose moderation, integrity, and virtues, had made him dear, even to most of the catholic party. A report being spread, that this prelate, in order to make his court to the queen, had promised to officiate in the Latin service, he drew up a declaration, in which he entirely cleared himself of the aspersion, but incurred what was much more terrible, the queen's resentment. On the publication of this paper, Cranmer was thrown into prison, and tried for the part he had acted, in concurring, among the rest of the council, to exalt lady Jane, and set aside the rightful sovereign. This guilt he had in fact incurred; but as it was shared with a large body of men, most of whom were not only uncensured, but even taken into favour, the malignancy of the prosecution was easily seen through. Sentence of high-treason was, therefore, pronounced

nounced against him; but it was not then executed, as this venerable man was reserved for a more dreadful punishment. Shortly after, Peter Martyr, a German reformer, who had in the late reign been invited over to England, seeing how things were likely to go, desired leave to return to his native country. But the zeal of the catholics, though he had escaped them, was malignantly, though harmlessly, wreaked upon the body of his wife, which had been interred some years before at Oxford: it was dug up by public order, and buried in a dunghill. The bones A. D. 1553. also of Bucer and Fagius, two foreign reformers, were about the same time committed to the flames at Cambridge. The greater part of the foreign protestants took early precautions to leave the kingdom; and many of the arts and manufactures, which they successfully advanced, fled with them. Nor were their fears without foundation: a parliament, which the queen called soon after, seemed willing to concur in all her measures; they at one blow repealed all the statutes with regard to religion, which had passed during the reign of her predecessor; so that the national religion was again placed on the same footing on which it stood at the death of Henry the Eighth.

While religion was thus returning to its primitive abuses, the queen's ministers, who were willing to strengthen her power by a catholic alliance, had been for some time looking out for a proper consort. The person on whom her own affections seemed chiefly placed was the earl of Devonshire; but that nobleman, either disliking her person, or having already placed his affections on her sister Elizabeth, neglected all overtures to such

such an alliance. Cardinal Pole, who, though invested with that ecclesiastical dignity, was still a layman, and a person of high character for virtue, generosity, and attachment to the catholic religion, was next thought of. But as he was in the decline of life, the queen soon dropped all thoughts of him. The person last thought of, and who succeeded, was Philip prince of Spain, and son of the celebrated Charles the Fifth. In order to avoid any disagreeable remonstrances from the people, the articles of marriage were drawn as favourably as possible to the interests and honour of England; and this, in some measure, stilled the clamours that had already been begun against it. It was agreed, that, though Philip should have the title of king, the administration should be entirely in the queen; that no foreigner should be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom; that no innovation should be made in the English laws, customs, and privileges; that her issue should inherit, together with England, Burgundy and the Low-Countries; and that if Don Carlos, Philip's son by a former marriage, should die, the queen's issue should then enjoy all the dominions possessed by the king. Such was the treaty of marriage, from which politicians foresaw very great changes in the system of Europe; but which in the end came to nothing, by the queen's having no issue.

The people, however, who did not see so far, were much more just in their surmises that it might be a blow to their liberties and religion. They loudly murmured against it, and a flame of discontent was kindled over the whole nation. Sir Thomas Wyatt, a Roman-catholic, at the head of four thousand insurgents, marched

ed from Kent to Hyde-Park, publishing, as he went forward, a declaration against the queen's evil counsellors, and against the Spanish match. His first aim was to secure the Tower; but his rashness undid him. As he marched forward A. D. 1554. through the city of London, and among the narrow streets, without suspicion, care was taken by the earl of Pembroke to block up the way behind him by ditches and chains thrown across, and guards placed at all the avenues to prevent his return. In this manner did this bold demagogue pass onward, and supposed himself now ready to reap the fruits of his undertaking, when, to his utter confusion, he found that he could neither go forward, nor yet make good his retreat. He now perceived that the citizens, from whom he had expected assistance, would not join him; and, losing all courage in this exigency, he surrendered at discretion.

The duke of Suffolk was not less guilty also: he had joined in a confederacy with sir Peter Carew, to make an insurrection in the counties of Kent, Warwick, and Leicester; but his confederate's impatience engaging him to rise in arms before the day appointed, Suffolk vainly endeavoured to excite his dependents; but was so closely pursued by the earl of Huntingdon, that he was obliged to disperse his followers; and, being discovered in his retreat, was led prisoner to London, where he, together with Wyatt, and seventy persons more, suffered by the hand of the executioner. Four hundred were conducted before the queen with ropes about their necks; and, falling on their knees, received pardon, and were dismissed.

But,

But what excited the compassion of the people most of all, was the execution of lady Jane Grey, and her husband lord Guilford Dudley, who were involved in the punishment, though not in the guilt, of this insurrection. Two days after Wyatt was apprehended, lady Jane and her husband were ordered to prepare for death. Lady Jane, who had long before seen the threatened blow, was no way surprised at the message, but bore it with heroic resolution; and being informed that she had three days to prepare, she seemed displeased at so long a delay. On the day of her execution, her husband desired permission to see her; but this she refused, as she knew the parting would be too tender for her fortitude to withstand. The place at first designed for their execution was without the Tower; but their youth, beauty, and innocence, being likely to raise an insurrection among the people, orders were given that they should be executed within the verge of the Tower. Lord Dudley was the first that suffered; and while the lady Jane was conducting to the place of execution, the officers of the Tower met her, bearing along the headless body of her husband streaming with blood, in order to be interred in the Tower-chapel. She looked on the corpse for some time without any emotion; and then, with a sigh, desired them to proceed. John Gage, constable of the Tower, as he led her to execution, desired her to bestow on him some small present, which he might keep as a perpetual memorial of her. She gave him her tablets, where she had just written three sentences on seeing her husband's dead body, one in Greek, one in Latin, and one in English, importing that she hoped God and posterity would

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do him and their cause justice. On the scaffold she made a speech, in which she alleged that her offence was not the having laid her hand upon the crown, but the not rejecting it with sufficient constancy; that she had less erred through ambition than filial obedience; that she willingly accepted death as the only atonement she could make to the injured state; and was ready, by her punishment, to show that innocence is no plea in excuse for deeds that tend to injure the community. After speaking to this effect, she caused herself to be disrobed by her women, and with a steady serene countenance submitted to the executioner.

The enemies of the state being thus suppressed, the theatre was now opened for the pretended enemies of religion. The queen, being freed from apprehensions of an insurrection, began by assembling a parliament, which, upon this, as upon most occasions, seemed only met to give countenance to her various severities. The nobles, whose only religion was that of the prince who governed, were easily gained over; and the house of commons had long been passive under all the variations of regal caprice. But there was a new enemy started up against the reformers, in the person of the king, who, though he took all possible care to conceal his aversion, yet secretly influenced the queen, and inflamed all her proceedings. Philip had for some time been come over, and had used every endeavour to increase that share of power which he had been allowed by parliament, but without effect. The queen, indeed, who loved him with a foolish fondness, that sat but ill on a person of her years and disagreeable person, endeavoured to please him

him by every concession she could make or procure: and finding herself incapable of satisfying his ambition, she was not remiss in concurring with his zeal; so that heretics began to be per-
A.D. 1554. secuted with inquisitorial severity. The old sanguinary laws were now revived, which had been rejected by a former parliament. Orders were given that the bishops and priests who had married should be ejected; that the mass should be restored; that the pope's authority should be established; and that the church and its privileges, all but their goods and estates, should be put upon the same foundation on which they were before the commencement of the reformation. As the gentry and nobles had already divided the church-lands among them, it was thought inconvenient, and indeed impossible, to make a restoration of these.

At the head of those who drove such measures forward, were Gardiner bishop of Winchester, and Cardinal Pole, who was now returned from Italy. Pole, who was nearly allied by birth to the royal family, had always conscientiously adhered to the catholic religion, and had incurred Henry's displeasure, not only by refusing his assent to his measures, but by writing against him. It was for this adherence that he was cherished by the pope, and now sent over to England as legate from the holy see. Gardiner was a man of a very different character: his chief aim was to please the reigning prince, and he had shown already many instances of his prudent conformity. He now perceived that the king and queen were for rigorous measures; and he knew that it would be the best means of paying his court to them, even to out-go them in severity.

severity. Pole, who had never varied in his principles, declared in favour of toleration; Gardiner, who had often changed, was for punishing those changes in others with the utmost rigour. However, he was too prudent to appear at the head of a persecution in person; he therefore consigned that odious office to Bonner, bishop of London, a cruel, brutal, and ignorant man.

This bloody scene began by the martyrdom of Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, and Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's. They were examined by commissioners appointed by the queen, with the chancellor at the head of them. It was expected that by their recantation they would bring those opinions into disrepute which they had so long inculcated: but the persecutors were deceived; they both continued stedfast in their belief; and they were accordingly condemned to be burnt, Rogers in Smithfield, and Hooper in his own diocese at Gloucester. Rogers, beside the care of his own preservation, lay under very powerful temptations to deny his principles, and save his life; for he had a wife whom he tenderly loved, and ten children; but nothing could move his resolution. Such was his serenity after condemnation, that the jailors, we are told, waked him from a sound sleep upon the approach of the hour appointed for his execution. He desired to see his wife before he died; but Gardiner told him that being a priest he could have no wife. When the faggots were placed around him, he seemed no way daunted at the preparation; but cried out, "I resign my life with joy in "testimony of the doctrine of Jesus." When Hooper was tied to the stake, a stool was set before

fore him with the queen's pardon upon it, in case he should recant; but he ordered it to be removed, and prepared cheerfully to suffer his sentence, which was executed in its full severity. The fire, either from malice or neglect, had not been sufficiently kindled; so that his legs and thighs were first burned, and one of his hands dropped off, while with the other he continued to beat his breast. He was three quarters of an hour in torture, which he bore with inflexible constancy.

Saunders and Taylor, two other clergymen, whose zeal had been distinguished in carrying on the reformation, were the next that suffered. Taylor was put into a pitch-barrel; and before the fire was kindled, a faggot from an unknown hand was thrown at his head, which made it stream with blood. Still, however, he continued undaunted, singing the thirty-first Psalm in English; which one of the spectators observing, struck him a blow on the side of the head, and commanded him to pray in Latin. Taylor continued a few minutes silent, and with his eyes stedfastly fixed upward, when one of the guards, either through impatience or compassion, struck him down with his halberd, and thus happily put an end to his torments.

The death of these only served to increase the savage appetite of the popish bishops and monks for fresh slaughter. Bonner, bloated at once with rage and luxury, let loose his vengeance without restraint, and seemed to take a pleasure in the pains of the unhappy sufferers; while the queen, by her letters, exhorted him to pursue the pious work without pity or interruption. Soon after, in obedience to her commands, Ridley, bishop of London, and the venerable Latimer,

mer, bishop of Worcester, were condemned together. Ridley had been one of the ablest champions for the reformation; his piety, learning, and solidity of judgment, were admired by his friends, and dreaded by his enemies. The night before his execution, he invited the mayor of Oxford and his wife to see him; and when he beheld them melted into tears, he himself appeared quite unmoved, inwardly supported and comforted in that hour of agony. When he was brought to the stake to be burnt, he found his old friend Latimer there before him. Of all the prelates of that age, Latimer was the most remarkable for his unaffected piety, and the simplicity of his manners. He had never learned to flatter in courts; and his open rebuke was dreaded by all the great, who at that time too much deserved it. His sermons, which remain to this day, show that he had much learning and much wit; and there is an air of sincerity running through them, not to be found elsewhere. When Ridley began to comfort his ancient friend, Latimer, on his part, was as ready to return the kind office. "Be of good cheer, brother," cried he, "we shall this day kindle such a torch in England, as, I trust in God, shall never be extinguished." A furious bigot ascended to preach to them and the people, while the fire was preparing; and Ridley gave a most serious attention to his discourse. No way distracted by the preparations about him, he heard him to the last, and then told him that he was ready to answer all that he had preached upon, if he were permitted a short indulgence; but this was refused him. At length fire was set to the pile: Latimer was soon out of pain; but Ridley continued

to suffer much longer, his legs being consumed before the fire reached his vitals.

One Thomas Haukes, when conducted to the stake, had agreed with his friends, that if he found the torture supportable, he would make them a signal for that purpose in the midst of the flames. His zeal for the cause in which he suffered was so strong, that when the spectators thought him near expiring, by stretching out his arms he gave his friends the signal that the pain was not too great to be borne. This example, with many others of the like constancy, encouraged multitudes not only to suffer, but even to aspire after martyrdom.

But women seemed persecuted with as much severity even as men. A woman in Guernsey, condemned for heresy, was delivered of a child in the midst of the flames. Some of the spectators humanely ran to snatch the infant from danger; but the magistrate, who was a papist, ordered it to be flung in again; and there it was consumed with the mother.

Cranmer's death followed soon after, and struck the whole nation with horror. This prelate, whom we have seen acting so very conspicuous a part in the reformation during the two preceding reigns, had been long detained a prisoner, in consequence of his imputed guilt in obstructing the queen's succession to the crown. But it was now resolved to bring him to punishment; and, to give it all its malignity, the queen ordered that he should be punished for heresy rather than for treason. He was accordingly cited by the pope, to stand his trial at Rome; and though he was kept a prisoner at Oxford, yet, upon his not appearing, he was condemned as contumacious.

cious. But his enemies were not satisfied with his tortures, without adding to them the poignancy of self accusation. Persons were, therefore, employed to tempt him, by flattery and insinuation, by giving him hopes of once more being received into favour, to sign his recantation, by which he acknowledged the doctrines of the papal supremacy and the real presence. His love of life prevailed. In an unguarded moment he was induced to sign this paper; and now his enemies, as we are told of the devil, after having rendered him completely wretched, resolved to destroy him. But it was determined, before they led him out to execution, that they should try to induce him to make a recantation in the church before the people. The unfortunate prelate, either having a secret intimation of their design, or having once more recovered the native vigour of his mind, entered the church prepared to surprise the whole audience by a contrary declaration. Being placed in a conspicuous part of the church, a sermon was preached by Cole, provost of Eton, in which he magnified Cranmer's conversion as the immediate work of heaven itself. He assured the archbishop, that nothing could have been so pleasing to God, the queen, or the people; he comforted him, that, in case it was thought fit that he should suffer, numberless dirges and masses should be said for his soul; and that his own confession of his faith would still more secure his soul from the pains of purgatory. During the whole rhapsody, Cranmer expressed the utmost agony, anxiety, and internal agitation; he lifted up his eyes to heaven, he shed a torrent of tears, and groaned with unutterable anguish. He then began a prayer,

filled with the most pathetic expressions of horror and remorse: he then said he was well apprised of his duty to his sovereign; but that a superior duty, the duty which he owed his Maker, obliged him to declare that he had signed a paper contrary to his conscience; that he took this opportunity of atoning for his error, by a sincere and open recantation: he was willing, he said, to seal with his blood that doctrine, which he firmly believed to be communicated from heaven, and that, as his hand had erred by betraying his heart, it should undergo the first punishment. The assembly, consisting chiefly of papists, who hoped to triumph in the last words of such a convert, were equally confounded and incensed at this declaration. They called aloud to him to leave off dissembling; and led him forward, amidst the insults and reproaches of his audience, to the stake at which Latimer and Ridley had suffered. He was resolved to triumph over their insults by his constancy and fortitude; and the fire beginning to be kindled round him, he stretched forth his right hand, and held it in the flames till it was consumed, while he frequently cried out in the midst of his sufferings, "That unworthy hand!" at the same time exhibiting no appearance of pain or disorder. When the fire attacked his body, he seemed to be quite insensible of his tortures; his mind was occupied wholly upon the hopes of a future reward. After his body was destroyed, his heart was found entire; an emblem of the constancy with which he suffered.

These persecutions were now become odious to the whole nation; and, as it may be easily supposed, the perpetrators of them were all willing

ing to throw the odium from themselves upon others. Philip, sensible of the hatred which he must incur upon this occasion, endeavoured to remove the reproach from himself by a very gross artifice. He ordered his confessor to deliver in his presence a sermon in favour of toleration; but Bonner, in his turn, would not take the whole of the blame, and retorted the severities upon the court. In fact, a bold step was taken to introduce a court similar to that of the Spanish inquisition, that should be empowered to try heretics, and condemn them without any other form of law but its own authority. But even this was thought a method too dilatory in the present exigence of affairs. A proclamation, issued against books of heresy, treason, and sedition, declared, that all persons who had such books in their possession, and did not burn them without reading, should be deemed rebels, and suffer accordingly. This, as might be expected, was attended with bloody effects: whole crowds were executed, till even at last the very magistrates who had been instrumental in these cruelties refused to lend their assistance. It was computed, that, during this persecution, two hundred and seventy-seven persons suffered by fire, besides those punished by imprisonment, fines, and confiscations. Among those who suffered by fire, were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay-gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, fifty-five women, and four children.

All this was terrible; and yet the temporal affairs of the kingdom did not seem to be more successful. From Philip's first arrival in England, the queen's pregnancy was talked of; and

her own extreme desire that it should be true induced her to favour the report. When Pole, the pope's legate, was first introduced to her, she fancied the child stirred in her womb; and this her flatterers compared to the leaping of John the Baptist in his mother's belly, at the salutation of the Virgin. The catholics were confident that she was pregnant; they were confident that this child should be a son; they were even confident that heaven would render him beautiful, vigorous, and witty. But it soon turned out that all their confidence was ill-founded; for the queen's supposed pregnancy was only the beginning of a dropsy, which the disordered state of her health had brought upon her.

This opinion of the queen's pregnancy was all along carefully kept up by Philip, as it was an artifice by which he hoped to extend his authority in the kingdom. But he was mistaken: the English parliament, however lax in their principles at that time, harboured a continual jealousy against him, and passed repeated acts by which they ascertained the limits of his power, and confirmed the authority of the queen. Ambition was his only ruling passion; and the extreme fondness of the queen for his person was rather permitted by him than desired. He only wanted to make her inclination subservient to the purposes of his power; but finding her unable to satisfy him in that hope, he no longer treated her with any return of affection, but behaved to her with apparent indifference and neglect: at length, tired with her importunities and jealousies, and finding his authority extremely limited in England, he took hold of the first opportunity to leave her, and went over to the emperor

peror his father in Flanders. In the mean time, the queen's passion increased in proportion to the coolness with which it was returned. She passed most of her time in solitude; she gave vent to her sorrows, either by tears or by writing fond epistles to Philip, who, except when he wanted money, seldom returned her any answer. To supply his demands upon these occasions, she took several very extorting methods, by loans which were forced from several whom she thought most affectionate to her person, or best able to spare it. She offered the English merchants at Antwerp fourteen per cent. for a loan of thirty thousand pounds, and yet was mortified by a refusal.

She was more successful in her attempts to engage the English in a war with France, at the instigation of her husband, although in the end it turned out to her utter confusion. A war had just been commenced between Spain and that kingdom; and Philip, who took this occasion to come over to England, declared, that if he were not seconded by England at this crisis, he would never see the country more. This declaration greatly heightened the queen's zeal for promoting his interests; and though she was warmly opposed in this measure by cardinal Pole and the rest of her council, yet, by threatening to dismiss them all, she at last succeeded. War was declared against France, and preparations were every where made for attacking that kingdom with vigour. An army of ten thousand men was raised, A. D. 1557. and supplied by various methods of extortion, and sent over into Flanders.

A battle gained by the Spaniards at St. Quintin seemed to promise great success to the allied arms; but soon an action performed by the duke

of Guise, in the midst of winter, turned the scale in favour of France, and affected, if not the interests, at least the honour of England in the tenderest point. Calais had now for above two hundred years been in possession of the English; it had been made the chief market for wool, and other British commodities; it had been strongly fortified at different times, and was then deemed impregnable. But all the fortifications, which were raised before gunpowder was found out, were very ill able to resist the attacks of a regular battery from cannon; and they only continued to enjoy an ancient reputation for strength, which they were very ill able to maintain. Coligny, the French general, had remarked to the duke of Guise, that, as the town of Calais was surrounded by marshes, which during winter were impassable, except over a dyke guarded by two castles, St. Agatha and Newnam Bridge, the English were of late accustomed, to save expense, to dismiss a great part of the garrison at the approach of winter, and recall them in spring. The duke of Guise upon this made a sudden and unexpected march towards Calais, and assaulted the castle of St. Agatha with three thousand arquebusiers. The garrison were soon obliged to retreat to their other castle of Newnam Bridge, and shortly after compelled to quit that post, and to take shelter in the city. Meanwhile a small fleet was sent to block up the entrance of the harbour; and thus Calais was invested by land and sea. The governor, lord Wentworth, made a brave defence; but his garrison being very weak, they were unable to resist an assault given by the French, who made a lodgement in the castle.

On

On the night following, Wentworth attempted to recover this post; but having lost two hundred men in the attack, he was obliged to capitulate; so that, in less than eight days, the duke of Guise recovered a city that had been in possession of the English since the time of Edward the Third, and which he had spent eleven months in besieging. This loss filled the whole kingdom with murmurs, and the queen with despair; she was heard to say, that, when dead, the name of Calais would be found engraven on her heart.

These complicated evils, a murmuring people, an increasing heresy, a disdainful husband, and an unsuccessful war, made dreadful depredations on Mary's constitution. She began to appear consumptive; and this rendered her mind still more morose and bigoted. The people now therefore began to turn their thoughts to her successor; and the princess Elizabeth came into a greater degree of consideration than before. During this whole reign, the nation was in continual apprehensions with regard not only to the succession but the life of this princess. The violent hatred of the queen broke out upon every occasion; while Elizabeth, conscious of her danger, passed her time wholly in reading and study, entirely detached from business. Proposals of marriage had been made to her by the Swedish embassador, in his master's name; but she referred him to the queen, who leaving it to her own choice, she had the magnanimity to reserve herself for better fortune. Nor was she less prudent in concealing her sentiments of religion, and eluding all questions relative to that dangerous subject. She was obnoxious to Mary for

for two reasons; as she was next heir to the throne, it was feared she might aspire to it during her sister's life-time; but it was still more reasonably apprehended that she would, if ever she came to the crown, make an innovation in that religion which Mary took such pains to establish. The bishops, who had shed such a deluge of blood, foresaw this; and often told Mary that her destroying meaner heretics was of no advantage to the state, while the body of the tree was suffered to remain. Mary saw and acknowledged the cogency of their arguments, confined her sister with proper guards, and only waited for some fresh insurrection, or some favourable pretext, to destroy her. Her own death prevented the perpetration of her meditated cruelty.

Mary had been long in a very declining state of health; and having mistaken her dropsy for a pregnancy, she made use of an improper regimen, which had increased the disorder. Every reflexion now tormented her. The consciousness of being hated by her subjects, the prospect of Elizabeth's succession, whom she hated, and, above all, her anxiety for the loss of her husband, who never intended to return,—all these preyed upon her mind, and threw her into a lingering fever, of which she died, after a short and unfortunate reign of five years, four months, and eleven days, in the forty-third year of her age. Cardinal Pole, whose gentleness in power we have often had occasion to mention, survived her but one day. She was buried in Henry the Seventh's chapel, according to the rites of the church of Rome.



CHAP. XXVI.

ELIZABETH.

WERE we to adopt the maxim of the ca- A. D. 1558.
tholics, that evil may be done for the production of good, one might say that the persecutions in Mary's reign were permitted only to bring the kingdom more generally over to the protestant religion. Nothing could preach so effectually against the cruelty and vices of the monks as the actions of the monks themselves. Wherever heretics were to be burnt, the monks were always present, rejoicing at the flames, insulting the fallen, and frequently the first to thrust the flaming brand against the faces of the sufferers.

The

The English were effectually converted, by such sights as these, from their ancient superstitions. To bring the people over to any opinion, it is only necessary to persecute instead of attempting to convince. The people had formerly been compelled to embrace the protestant religion, and their fears induced them to conform; but now almost the whole nation were protestants from inclination.

Nothing, therefore, could exceed the joy that was diffused among the people upon the accession of Elizabeth, who now came to the throne without any opposition. She had been at Hatfield, when informed of her sister's death; and hastening to London, was received by the multitude with universal acclamations. Elizabeth had her education in that best school, the school of adversity; and she had made the proper use of her confinement. Being debarred the enjoyment of pleasures abroad, she sought for knowledge at home; she cultivated her understanding, learned the languages and sciences; but of all the arts which she acquired, that of concealing her opinions, of checking her inclinations, of displeasing none, and of learning to reign, were the most beneficial to her.

This virgin monarch, as some historians have called her, upon entering the Tower according to custom, could not refrain from remarking on the difference of her present and her former fortune, when she was sent there as a prisoner, and from whence she had so narrowly escaped. She had also been scarce proclaimed queen, when Philip, who had been married to Mary, but who ever testified a partiality in favour of Elizabeth, ordered his embassador in London, the

duke

duke of Feria, to make her proposals of marriage from his master. What political motives Elizabeth might have against this marriage, are not mentioned; but certain it is, that she neither liked the person nor the religion of her admirer. She was willing at once to enjoy the pleasures of independence, and the vanity of numerous solicitations. But while these were her views, she returned him a very obliging though evasive answer; and he still retained such hopes of success, that he sent a messenger to Rome, with orders to solicit the dispensation.

Elizabeth had, from the beginning, resolved upon reforming the church, even while she was held in the constraints of a prison; and now, upon coming to the crown, she immediately set about it. But not to alarm the partisans of the catholic religion all at once, she retained eleven of her sister's council; and, in order to balance their authority, added eight more, who were known to be affectionate to the protestant religion. Her particular adviser, however, was sir William Cecil, secretary of state, a man more earnestly employed in the business than the speculations of the times; and whose temper it was to wish for any religion that he thought would contribute to the welfare of the state. By his advice, therefore, she immediately recalled all exiles, and gave liberty to all prisoners who were confined on account of religion. She next published a proclamation, by which she forbade all preaching without a special license. She also suspended the laws so far as to have a great part of the service to be read in English, and forbade the host to be any more elevated in her presence. A. D. 1559.
A parliament soon after completed what the pre-

prerogative had begun; act after act was passed in favour of the reformation; and in a single session the form of religion was established as we at present have the happiness to enjoy it.

The opposition which was made to these religious establishments was furious, but feeble. A conference of nine doctors on each side was proposed and agreed to, in presence of the lord-keeper Bacon. They were to dispute publicly upon either side of the question; and it was resolved that the people should hold to that which came off with the victory. Disputations of this kind never carry conviction to either party; so much is to be said, and so wide is the field that both sides have to range in, that the strength of both is exhausted before the engagement may be properly said to begin. The conference therefore came to nothing; the catholics declared that it was not in their power to dispute a second time upon topics on which they had gained a former victory; while the protestants, on the other side, ascribed their caution to their fears. Of nine thousand four hundred beneficed clergymen, which was the number of those in the kingdom, only fourteen bishops, twelve archdeacons, fifteen heads of colleges, and about eighty of the parochial clergy, chose to quit their preferments rather than give up their religion. Thus England was seen to change its belief in religion four times since the beginning of the reign of Henry the Eighth. "Strange," says a foreign writer, "that a people so resolute should be guilty of so much inconstancy; that the same people who this day assisted at the execution of heretics should, the next, not only think them guiltless, but conform to their systems of thinking."

Eliza-

Elizabeth was now fixed upon a protestant throne, and had consequently all the catholic powers of Europe her open or secret enemies. France, Scotland, the pope, and even Spain itself, began to think of combining against her. Her subjects of Ireland were concealed enemies; and the catholic party in England, though professing obedience, were yet ready to take the advantage of her slightest misfortunes. These were the dangers she had to fear; nor had she formed a single alliance to assist her, nor possessed any foreign friends that she could safely rely on. In this situation she could hope for no other resource but what proceeded from the affection of her own subjects, her own insight into her affairs, and the wisdom of her administration. From the beginning of her reign, she seemed to aim at two very difficult attainments; to make herself loved by her subjects, and feared by her courtiers. She resolved to be frugal of her treasury, and still more sparing in her rewards to favourites. This at once kept the people in good humour, and the great too poor to shake off their dependence. She also showed that she knew how to distribute both rewards and punishments with impartiality; that she knew when to sooth, and when to upbraid; that she could dissemble submission, but preserve her prerogatives. In short, she seemed to have studied the people she was born to govern, and even showed that she knew when to flatter their foibles to secure their affections.

Her chief minister was Robert Dudley, son to the late duke of Northumberland, whom she seemed to regard from capricious motives, as he was possessed neither of abilities nor virtue. But to make amends, the two favourites next in power

power were Bacon and Cecil, men of great capacity and infinite application; they regulated the finances, and directed the political measures with foreign courts, that were afterwards followed with so much success.

A state of permanent felicity is not to be expected here; and Mary Stuart, commonly called Mary queen of Scots, was the first person that excited the fears or the resentment of Elizabeth. We have already mentioned, that Henry the Seventh married his eldest daughter, Margaret, to James, king of Scotland, who, dying, left no issue that came to maturity, except Mary, afterwards surnamed Queen of Scots. At a very early age, this princess, being possessed of every accomplishment of person and mind, was married to Francis, the dauphin of France, who, dying, left her a widow at the age of nineteen. As Elizabeth had been declared illegitimate by Henry the Eighth, Francis, in right of his wife, began to assume the title of king of England; nor did the queen of Scots, his consort, seem to decline sharing this empty appellation. But though nothing could have been more unjust than such a claim, or more unlikely to succeed, Elizabeth, knowing that such pretensions might produce troubles in England, sent an embassador to France, complaining of the behaviour of that court in this instance. Francis, however, was not upon such good terms with Elizabeth as to forego any claims that would distress her; and her embassador was sent home without satisfaction. Upon the death of Francis, Mary, the widow, still seemed disposed to keep up the title; but finding herself exposed to the persecutions of the dowager queen, who now began to take the

the lead in France, she determined to return home to Scotland, and demanded a safe passage from Elizabeth through England. But it was now Elizabeth's turn to refuse; and she sent back a very haughty answer to Mary's request. From hence a determined personal enmity began to prevail between these rival queens, which subsisted for many years after, until at last the superior fortune of Elizabeth prevailed.

As the transactions of this unfortunate queen make a distinguished part in Elizabeth's history, it will be necessary to give them greater room than I have hitherto given to the occurrences of Scotland. The reformation in England having taken place, in Scotland also that work was begun, but with circumstances of greater animosity against their ancient superstitions. The mutual resentment which either party in that kingdom bore to each other knew no bounds; and a civil war was likely to end the dispute. It was in this divided state of the people that Elizabeth, by giving encouragement to the reformers, gained their affections from their natural queen, who was a catholic, and who consequently favoured those of that persuasion. Thus religion at last effected a sincere friendship between the English and Scots, which neither treaties nor marriages, nor the vicinity of situation, was able to produce. The reformers, to a man, considered Elizabeth as their patroness and defender, and Mary as their persecutor and enemy.

It was in this situation of things that Mary returned from France to reign at home in Scotland, entirely attached to the customs and manners of the people she left; and consequent-

ly very averse to the gloomy severity which her reformed subjects affected, and which they fancied made a proper ingredient in religion. A difference in religion between the sovereign and the people is ever productive of bad effects; since it is apt to produce contempt on the one side, and jealousy on the other. Mary could not avoid regarding the sour manners of the reformed clergy, who now bore sway among the people, with a mixture of ridicule and hatred; while they, on the other hand, could not look tamely on the gaieties and levities which she introduced among them, without abhorrence and resentment. The jealousy thus excited, began every day to grow stronger; the clergy waited only for some indiscretion in the queen, to fly out into open opposition; and her indiscretion but too soon gave them sufficient opportunity.

After two years had been spent in altercation and reproach between Mary and her subjects, it was resolved upon at last by her council, that she should look out for some alliance, by which she might be sheltered and protected against the insolence and misguided zeal of her
A.D. 1564. spiritual instructors. After some deliberation, the lord Darnley, son to the earl of Lennox, was the person in whom their opinions and wishes centred. He had been born and educated in England, was now in his twentieth year, was cousin-german to the queen; and, what perhaps she might admire still more, he was extremely tall. Elizabeth was secretly no way averse to this marriage, as it freed her from the dread of a foreign alliance; but when informed that it was actually concluded and consummated, she pretended to testify the utmost displeasure; she menaced,

menaced, complained, protested; seised all the earl of Lennox's English estate, and threw the countess and her second son into the Tower. This duplicity of conduct was common enough with Elizabeth; and, on the present occasion, it served her as a pretext for refusing Mary's title to the succession of England, which that princess had frequently urged, but in vain.

But, notwithstanding Elizabeth's complaints and resentment, Mary was resolved to indulge her own inclinations; and, struck with the beauty of Darnley's figure, the match was driven forward with all expedition. Some of the first weeks of their connection seemed to promise a happy union for the rest of their lives. However, it was not without some opposition from the reformers that this marriage was completed. It was agitated, whether the queen could marry without the consent of the people? Some lords rose up in arms to prevent it; but being pursued by a superior force, they found themselves obliged to abandon their country and take refuge in England. Thus far all was favourable to Mary; and thus far she kept within the bounds of strict virtue. Her enemies were banished, her rival over-ruled, and she herself married to the man she loved.

While Mary had been dazzled by the pleasing exterior of her new lover, she had entirely forgot to look to the accomplishments of his mind. Darnley was but a weak and ignorant man; violent, yet variable in his enterprises; insolent, yet credulous, and easily governed by flatterers; devoid of all gratitude, because he thought no favours equal to his merit; and being addicted to low pleasures, he was equally

incapable of all true sentiments of love and tenderness. Mary, in the first effusions of her fondness, had taken a pleasure in exalting him beyond measure; but having leisure afterwards to remark his weakness and his vices, she began to convert her admiration into disgust; and Darnley, enraged at her increasing coldness, pointed his vengeance against every person he esteemed the cause of this change in her sentiments and behaviour.

There was then in the court one David Rizzio, the son of a musician at Turin, himself a musician, who finding it difficult to subsist by his art in his own country, had followed the embassador from that court into Scotland. As he understood music to perfection, and sung a good bass, he was introduced into the queen's concert, who was so taken with him, that she desired the embassador, upon his departure, to leave Rizzio behind. The excellence of his voice soon procured him greater familiarities; and, although he was by no means handsome, but rather ugly, the queen seemed to place peculiar confidence in him, and ever kept him next her person. Her secretary for French dispatches having some time after fallen under her displeasure, she promoted Rizzio to that office, who, being shrewd, sensible, and aspiring beyond his rank, soon after began to entertain hopes of being promoted to the important office of chancellor of the kingdom. He was consulted on all occasions; no favours could be obtained but by his intercession; and all suitors were first obliged to gain Rizzio to their interests, by presents, or by flattery. It was easy to prevail upon a man of Darnley's jealous uxorious temper, that

Rizzio

Rizzio was the person who had estranged the queen's affections from him; and a surmise once conceived became to him a certainty. He soon, therefore, consulted with some lords of his party, stung as he was with envy, rage, and resentment; and they not only fanned the conflagration in his mind, but offered their assistance to dispatch Rizzio. George Douglas, natural brother to the countess of Lennox, the lords Ruthven and Lindsey, settled the circumstances of this poor creature's assassination among them, and determined that, as a punishment for the queen's indiscretions, the murder should be committed in her presence. Mary was at this time in the sixth month of her pregnancy, and was then supping in private, at table with the countess of Argyle, her natural sister, some other servants, and her favourite Rizzio. Lord Darnley led the way into the apartment by a private stair-case, and stood for some time leaning at the back of Mary's chair. His fierce looks and unexpected intrusion greatly alarmed the queen, who nevertheless kept silence, not daring to call out. A little after, lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and the other conspirators, rushed in, all armed, and showing in their looks the brutality of their intentions. The queen could no longer restrain her terrors, but demanded the reason of this bold intrusion. Ruthven made her no answer; but ordered Rizzio to quit a place of which he was unworthy. Rizzio now saw that he was the object of their vengeance; and, trembling with apprehension, took hold of the queen's robes to put himself under her protection, who, on her part, strove to interpose between the assassins and him. Douglas, in the

mean time, had reached the unfortunate Rizzio; and snatching a dagger from the king's side, while the queen filled the room with her cries, plunged it, in her presence, into Rizzio's bosom, who, screaming with fear and agony, was torn from Mary by the other conspirators, and dragged into the ante-chamber, where he was dispatched with fifty-six wounds. The unhappy princess continued her lamentations; but being informed of his fate, at once dried her tears, and said she would weep no more, for she would now think of revenge. The insult indeed upon her person and honour, and the danger to which her life was exposed on account of her pregnancy, were injuries so atrocious and so complicated, that they scarce left room for pardon.

This act of violence was only to be punished by temporising; she pretended to forgive so great a crime; and exerted the force of her natural allurements so powerfully, that her husband submitted implicitly to her will. He soon gave up his accomplices to her resentment, and retired with her to Dunbar, while she, having collected an army which the conspirators had no power to resist, advanced to Edinburgh, and obliged them to fly into England, where they lived in great poverty and distress. They made application, however, to the earl of Bothwell, a new favourite of Mary's; and that nobleman, desirous to strengthen his party by the accession of their interest, was able to pacify her resentment, and he soon after procured them liberty to return home.

The vengeance of the queen was implacable to her husband alone; his person was before disagreeable to her; and having persuaded

him

him to give up his accomplices, she treated him with merited disdain and indignation. But it were well for her character and happiness had she rested only in despising:—she secretly resolved on a severer revenge. The earl Bothwell, who was now become her favourite, was of a considerable family in Scotland; and though not distinguished by any talents, civil or military, yet he made some noise in the dissensions of the state, and was an opposer of the reformation. He was a man of profligate manners, had involved his fortune in great debts, and had reduced himself to beggary by his profusion. This nobleman, notwithstanding, had ingratiated himself so far with the queen, that all her measures were entirely directed by his advice and authority. Reports were even spread of more particular intimacies; and these gave such uneasiness to Darnley, that he left the court, and retired to Glasgow, to be no longer a spectator of her excesses. But this was not what the queen aimed at; she was determined upon more ample punishment. Shortly after, all those who wished well to her character, or repose to their country, were extremely pleased, and somewhat surprised, to hear that her tenderness for her husband was revived, and that she had taken a journey to visit him during his sickness there. Darnley was so far allured by her behaviour on this occasion, that he resolved to part with her no more; he put himself under her protection, and soon after attended her to Edinburgh, which it was thought would be a place more favourable to his declining health. She lived in the palace of Holyrood-house; but as the situation of that place was low, and the concourse of persons about the

court necessarily attended with noise, which might disturb him in his present infirm state, she fitted up an apartment for him in a solitary house at some distance, called the Kirk of Field. Mary there gave him marks of kindness and attachment; she conversed cordially with him, and she lay some nights in a room under him. It was on the ninth of February that she told him she would pass that night in the palace, because the marriage of one of her servants was to be there celebrated in her presence. But dreadful consequences ensued. About two o'clock in the morning the whole city was much alarmed at hearing a great noise; the house in which Darnley lay was blown up with gun-powder. His dead body was found at some distance in a neighbouring field, but without any marks of violence or contusion. No doubt could be entertained but that Darnley was murdered; and the general suspicion fell upon Bothwell as the perpetrator.

All orders of the state, and the whole body of the people, began to demand justice on the supposed murderer; the queen herself was not entirely exempt from the general suspicion; and papers were privately stuck up every where, accusing her of being an accomplice. Mary, more solicitous to punish others than defend herself, offered rewards for the discovery of those who had spread such reports; but no rewards were offered for the discovery of the murderers. One indiscretion led on to another; Bothwell, though accused of being stained with her husband's blood, though universally odious to the people, had the confidence, while Mary was on her way to Stirling on a visit to her son, to seise her at the head of a body of eight hundred horse, and to carry

carry her to Dunbar, where he forced her to yield to his purposes. It was then thought by the people that the measure of his crimes was complete; and that he who was supposed to kill the queen's husband, and to have offered violence to her person, could expect no mercy; but they were astonished upon finding, instead of disgrace, that Bothwell was taken into more than former favour; and, to crown all, that he was married to the queen, having divorced his own wife to procure this union.

This was a fatal alliance to Mary; and the people were now wound up by the complication of her guilt, to pay very little deference to her authority. The protestant teachers, who had great power, had long borne great animosity towards her; the opinion of her guilt was by that means more widely diffused, and made the deeper impression. The principal nobility met at Stirling; and an association was soon formed for protecting the young prince, and punishing the king's murderers. Lord Hume was the first in arms; and leading a body of eight hundred horse, suddenly environed the queen and Bothwell, in the castle of Borthwick. They found means, however, to make their escape; and Bothwell, at the head of a few forces, meeting the associators within about six miles of Edinburgh, was obliged to capitulate, while Mary was conducted by the prevailing party into Edinburgh, amidst the insults and reproaches of the populace. From thence she was sent a prisoner to the castle of Lochlevin, situated in a lake of that name, where she suffered all the severities of an unkind keeper, and an upbraiding conscience, with a feeling heart. Bothwell was more fortunate; he fled,

fled, during the conference, unattended, to Dunbar, where, fitting out a few small ships, he subsisted among the Orkneys for some time by piracy. Being pursued thither, and his domestics taken, who made a full discovery of his crimes, he escaped himself in an open boat to Denmark, where he was thrown into prison, lost his senses, and died miserably about ten years afterwards.

In this situation, Mary was not entirely without protection and friends. Queen Elizabeth, who now saw her rival entirely humbled, began to relent; she was seen to reflect on the precarious state of royal grandeur, and the danger of encouraging rebellious subjects; she therefore sent sir Nicholas Throgmorton as her embassador to Scotland, to interpose in her behalf; but the associated lords thought proper to deny him, after several affected delays, all access to Mary's person. However, though he could not confer with her, he procured her the best terms with the rebellious lords that he could; which were, that she should resign the crown in favour of her son, who was as yet a minor; that she should appoint the earl of Murray, who had from the beginning testified a hatred to lord Darnley, as regent of the kingdom; and, as he was then in France, that she should appoint a council till his arrival. Mary could not think of resigning all power, without a plentiful effusion of tears; but at last signed what was brought to her, even without inspection. In consequence of this forced resignation, the young prince was proclaimed king, under the title of James the Sixth. The queen had now no hopes but from the kindness of the earl of Murray; but even here she was disappointed; the earl, upon his return, instead of comforting

forting her, as she expected, loaded her with reproaches, which reduced her almost to despair.

The calamities of the great, even though justly deserved, seldom fail of creating pity, and procuring friends. Mary, by her charms and promises, had engaged a young gentleman, whose name was George Douglas, to assist her in escaping from the place where she was confined: and this he effected, by conveying her in disguise in a small boat, rowed by himself, ashore. It was now that the news of her enlargement being spread abroad, all the loyalty of the people seemed to revive once more. As Bothwell was no longer associated in her cause, many of the nobility, who expected to succeed him in favour, signed a bond of association for her defence; and in a few days she saw herself at the head of six thousand men.

The earl of Murray, who had been declared regent, was not slow in assembling his forces; and although his army was inferior to that of the queen of Scots, he boldly took the field against her. A battle was fought at Langside, near Glasgow, which was entirely decisive in his favour; and he seemed to merit victory by his clemency after the action. Mary, now totally A. D. 1568. ruined, fled southwards from the field of battle with great precipitation; and came with a few attendants to the borders of England, where she hoped for protection from Elizabeth, who had upon some recent occasions declared in her favour.

With these hopes she embarked on board a fishing boat in Galloway, and landed the same day at Workington in Cumberland, about thirty miles distant from Carlisle, whence she immediately dispatched

dispatched a messenger to London, craving protection, and desiring liberty to visit the queen. Elizabeth being informed of her misfortunes and retreat, deliberated for some time upon the proper methods of proceeding, and resolved at last to act in a friendly yet cautious manner. She immediately sent orders to lady Scrope, sister to the duke of Norfolk, a lady who lived in that neighbourhood, to attend on the queen of Scots; and soon after dispatched lord Scrope himself, and sir Francis Knolles, to pay her all possible respect. Notwithstanding these marks of distinction, the queen refused to admit Mary into her presence, until she had cleared her character from the many foul aspersions that it was stained with. It might, perhaps, have been Elizabeth's duty to protect and not to examine her royal fugitive. However, she acted entirely under the direction of her council, who observed, that if the crimes of the Scottish princess were really so great as they were represented, the treating her with friendship would but give them a sanction; if she was found guiltless upon trial, every enterprise, which friendship should inspire in her defence, would be considered as laudable and glorious.

Mary was now, though reluctantly, obliged to admit her ancient rival as an umpire in her cause; and the accusation was readily undertaken by Murray the regent, who expected to remove so powerful an assistant as Elizabeth, by the atrociousness of Mary's offences. This extraordinary conference, which deliberated on the conduct of a foreign queen, was managed at York; three commissioners being appointed by Elizabeth, nine by the queen of Scots, and five by the regent,

regent, in which he himself was included. These conferences were carried on for some time at the place first appointed; but, after a while, Elizabeth, either unwilling to decide, as she would thus give up the power she was now possessed of, or perhaps desirous of throwing all light possible upon Mary's conduct, ordered the commissioners to continue their conferences at Hampton-court, where they were spun out by affected delays. Whatever might have been the cause of protracting this conference in the beginning, is not known; but many of the proofs of Mary's guilt, which were suppressed at York, made their appearance before the board at Hampton-court. Among other proofs, were many letters and sonnets written in Mary's own hand to Bothwell, in which she discovers her knowledge of Darnley's intended murder, and her contrivance to marry Bothwell, by pretending a forced compliance. These papers, it must be owned, are not free themselves from suspicion of being a forgery; yet the reasons for their authenticity seem to prevail. However this be, the proofs of Mary's guilt appearing stronger, it was thought proper to engage her advocates to give answers to them; but they, contrary to expectation, refused, alleging, that as Mary was a sovereign princess, she could not be subject to any tribunal; not considering that the aim of this conference was not punishment, but reconciliation; that it was not to try Mary in order to inflict penalties, but to know whether she was worthy of Elizabeth's friendship and protection. Instead of attempting to justify her conduct, the queen of Scots laboured nothing so much as to obtain an interview with Elizabeth, conscious that her insinuations,

tions, arts, and address, of all which she was a perfect mistress, would be sufficient to persuade her royal sister, and stand in place of innocence. But as she still persisted in a resolution to make no defence, this demand was finally refused her.

She still, however, persisted in demanding Elizabeth's protection; she desired that either she should be assisted in her endeavours to recover her authority, or that liberty should be given her for retiring into France, there to make trial of the friendship of other princes. But Elizabeth, sensible of the danger which attended either of these proposals, was secretly resolved to detain her in captivity; and she was accordingly sent to Tutbury castle, in the county of Stafford, where she was put under the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury; there she gave her royal prisoner hopes of one day coming into favour; and that, unless her own obstinacy prevented, an accommodation might at last take place.

But this unhappy woman was fated to nothing but misfortunes; and those hopes of accommodation which she had been given to expect were still put off by some sinister accident. The factions of her own subjects in Scotland tended not a little to alarm the jealousy of Elizabeth, and increase the rigours of Mary's confinement. The regent of Scotland, who had been long her inveterate enemy, happening to be assassinated, in revenge of a private injury, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton, upon his death the kingdom relapsed into its former anarchy. Mary's party once more assembled together, and became masters of Edinburgh. They even ventured towards the borders of England, where they committed some disorders, which called upon the vigilance of Elizabeth

Elizabeth to suppress. She quickly sent an army commanded by the earl of Sussex, who, entering Scotland, severely chastised all the partisans of the captive queen, under a pretence that they had offended his mistress by harbouring English rebels.

But the designs and arts of Elizabeth did not rest here: while she kept up the most friendly correspondence with Mary, and the most warm protestations of sincerity passed between them, she was far from either assisting her cause, or yet from rendering it desperate. It was her interest to keep the factions in Scotland still alive, to weaken the power of that restless and troublesome nation: for this purpose she weakened the party of the queen, that had now promised to prevail, by tedious negotiations; and in the mean time procured the earl of Lennox to be appointed regent, in the room of Murray, who was slain.

This attempt, which promised to be favourable to Mary, proved thus unsuccessful, as well as another, which was concerted near the place of her captivity. The duke of Norfolk was the only peer who enjoyed that highest title of nobility in England; and the qualities of his mind corresponded to his high station. Beneficent, A. D. 1568. affable, and generous, he had acquired the affections of the people; and yet, from his moderation, he had never alarmed the jealousy of the sovereign. He was at this time a widower; and being of a suitable age to espouse the queen of Scots, her own attractions, as well as his interests, made him desirous of the match. But the obtaining Elizabeth's consent, previous to their nuptials, was considered as a circumstance essential

tial to his aims. But while this nobleman made almost all the nobility of England confidants to his passion, he never had the prudence, or the courage, to open his full intentions to the queen herself. On the contrary, in order to suppress the surmises that were currently reported, he spoke contemptuously of Mary to Elizabeth; affirmed that his estates in England were of more value than the revenue of the whole kingdom; and declared that when he amused himself in his own tennis-court at Norwich, he was a more magnificent prince than a Scottish king. This duplicity only served to inflame the queen's suspicions the more; and finding that she gave his professions no great degree of credit, he retired from the court in disgust. Repenting, however, soon after this measure, he was resolved to return, with a view of regaining the queen's good graces; but on the way, he was stopped by a messenger from the queen, and soon committed to the Tower, under the custody of sir Henry Nevil.

But the duke of Norfolk was too much beloved by his partisans in the North, to be confined without an effort made for his release. The earls of Westmorland and Northumberland had prepared measures for a rebellion; had communicated their design to Mary and her ministers; had entered into a correspondence with the duke of Alva, governor of the Low-Countries, and had obtained his promise of men and ammunition. But the vigilance of Elizabeth's ministers was not to be eluded: orders were immediately sent for their appearance at court; and now the insurgent lords, perceiving their schemes discovered, were obliged to begin their revolt before matters

matters were entirely prepared for its opening. They accordingly published a manifesto, in which they alleged that no injury was intended against the queen, to whom they vowed unshaken allegiance; but that their sole aim was to re-establish the religion of their ancestors, to remove all evil counsellors from about the queen's person, and to restore the duke of Norfolk to his liberty and the queen's favour. Their number amounted to four thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse; and they expected to be joined by all the catholics in England. But they soon found themselves miserably undeceived; the queen's conduct had acquired the general good-will of the people, and she now perceived that her surest support was the justice of her actions. The duke of Norfolk himself, for whose sake they had revolted, used every method that his circumstances would permit, to assist and support the queen; the insurgents were obliged to retire before her forces to Hexham; and hearing that reinforcements were upon their march to join the royal army, they found no other expedient but to disperse themselves without a blow. Northumberland fled into Scotland, and was confined by the regent to the castle of Lochlevin; Westmorland, after attempting to excite the Scots to revolt, was obliged to escape into Flanders, where he found protection. This rebellion was followed by another, led on by lord Dacres, but with as little success. Some severities were used against these revolters; and it is said that no less than eighty suffered by the hands of the executioner on this occasion. The queen was so well pleased with the duke of Norfolk's behaviour, that she now A. D. 1569. released him from the Tower, and allowed him to

return home, only exacting a promise from him, not to proceed any farther in his pretensions to the queen of Scots.

But the queen's confidence was fatal to this brave but undesigning nobleman. He had not been released above a year, when new projects were set on foot by the enemies of the queen and the reformed religion, secretly fomented by Rodolphi, an instrument of the court of Rome, and the bishop of Ross, Mary's minister in England. It was concerted by them that Norfolk should renew his designs upon Mary, to which it was probable he was prompted by passion; and this nobleman entering into their schemes, he, from being at first only ambitious, now became criminal. It was mutually agreed, therefore, that the duke should enter into all Mary's interests; while, on the other hand, the duke of Alva promised to transport a body of six thousand foot, and four thousand horse, to join Norfolk as soon as he should be ready to begin. This scheme was so secretly laid, that it had hitherto entirely escaped the vigilance of Elizabeth, and that of secretary Cecil, who now bore the title of lord Burleigh. It was found out merely by accident; for the duke having sent a sum of money to lord Herries, one of Mary's partisans in Scotland, omitted trusting the servant with the contents of his message; and he finding, by the weight of the bag, that it contained a larger sum than the duke mentioned to him, began to mistrust some plot, and brought the money, with the duke's letter, to the secretary of state. It was by the artifices of that great statesman that the duke's servants were brought to make a full confession of their master's guilt; and the bishop of Ross

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soon after, finding the whole discovered, did not scruple to confirm their testimony. The duke was instantly committed to the Tower, and ordered to prepare for his trial. A jury of twenty-five peers unanimously passed sentence upon him; and the queen, four months after, reluctantly signed the warrant for his execution. He died with great calmness and constancy; and though he cleared himself of any disloyal intentions against the queen's authority, he acknowledged the justice of the sentence by which he suffered. A few months after, the earl of Northumberland being delivered up by the regent, underwent a similar trial, and was brought to the scaffold for his rebellion. All these ineffectual struggles in favour of the unfortunate queen of Scots seemed only to rivet the chains of her confinement; and she now found relief only in the resources of her own mind, which distress had contributed to soften, refine, and improve. From henceforth she continued for several years a precarious dependent on Elizabeth's suspicions; and only waited for some new effort of her adherents, to receive that fate which political and not merciful motives seemed to prolong.



CHAP. XXVII.

ELIZABETH (Continued).

HAVING thus far attended the queen of Scotland, whose conduct and misfortunes make such a distinguished figure in this reign, we now return to some transactions, prior in point of time, but of less consideration.

A. D. 1562. In the beginning of this reign, the Hugonots, or reformed party in France, were obliged to call in the protection of the English; and, in order to secure their confidence, as they were possessed of the greatest part of Normandy, they offered to put Havre into the queen's hands; a proffer which she immediately accepted. She wisely

wisely considered, that, as that port commanded the mouth of the river Seine, it was of much more importance than Calais; and she could thus have the French still in her power. Accordingly three thousand English took possession of Havre and Dieppe, under the command of sir Edward Poinings; but the latter place was found so little capable of being defended, that it was immediately abandoned; and Havre itself was obliged to capitulate shortly after. Although the garrison was reinforced, and was found to amount to six thousand men, and every means was employed for putting the town in a posture of defence against the French army that was preparing to besiege it, yet it felt a severer enemy within its walls; for the plague had got into the town, and committed such havoc among the soldiers, that a hundred were commonly seen to die of it in one day. The garrison, being thus dispirited and diminished to fifteen hundred men, finding the French army indefatigable in their approaches, were obliged to capitulate; and thus the English lost all hopes of ever making another establishment in the kingdom of France. This misfortune was productive of one still more dreadful to the nation; for the English army carried back the plague with them to London, which made such ravages, that twenty thousand persons died there in one year.

This, if we except the troubles raised upon the account of Mary, seems to have been the only disaster that, for above thirteen years, any way A. D. 1563. contributed to disturb the peace of this reign. Elizabeth, ever vigilant, active, and resolute, attended to the slightest alarms, and repressed them before they were capable of producing their

effect. Her frugality kept her independent, and her dissimulation (for she could dissemble) made her beloved. The opinion of the royal prerogative was such, that her commands were obeyed as statutes; and she took care that her parliaments should never venture to circumscribe her power. In her schemes of government she was assisted by lord Burleigh, and sir Anthony Bacon, two of the most able ministers that ever directed the affairs of England; but while she committed to them all the drudgery of duty, her favourite, Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, engrossed all her favour, and secured all the avenues to preferment. All requests were made through him; and nothing given away without his consent and approbation. His merits, however, were by no means adequate to his successes; he was weak, vain, and boastful; but these qualities did no injury to the state, as his two co-adjutors were willing, while he maintained all the splendor of office, to secure to themselves the more solid emoluments.

During this peaceable and uniform government, England furnishes but few materials for history. While France was torn with internal convulsions; while above ten thousand of the Hugonots were massacred in one night, in cool blood, on the feast of St. Bartholomew, at Paris; while the inhabitants of the Low-Countries had shaken off the Spanish yoke, and were bravely vindicating their rights and their religion; while all the rest of Europe was teeming with plots, seditions, and cruelty; the English, under their wise queen, were enjoying all the benefits of peace, extending commerce, improving manufactures, and setting an example of arts

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and learning to all the rest of the world. Except the small part, therefore, which Elizabeth took in foreign transactions, there scarce passed any occurrence which requires a particular detail.

There had for some time arisen disgusts between the court of England and that of Spain. Elizabeth's having rejected the suit of Philip might probably have given rise to these disgusts; and after that, Mary's claiming the protection of that monarch tended still more to widen the breach. This began, as usual, on each side, with petty hostilities; the Spaniards, on their part, had sent into Ireland a body of seven hundred of their nation and Italians, who built a fort there, but were soon after cut off to a man, by the duke of Ormond. On the other hand, the English, under the conduct of sir Francis Drake, assaulted the Spaniards in the place where they deemed themselves most secure—in the New World. This was the first Englishman that sailed round the globe; and the queen was so well pleased with his valour and success, that she accepted a banquet from him at Deptford, on board the ship which had achieved so memorable a voyage.

In this manner, while hostilities were daily multiplying between Spain and England, and while the power of Spain, as well as the monarch's inclinations, were very formidable to the queen, she began to look out for an alliance that might support her against such a dangerous adversary. The duke of Anjou had long made pretensions to Elizabeth; and though she was near twenty-five years older than him, he took the resolution to prefer his suit in person, and paid her a visit in secret at Greenwich. It appears

that, though his figure was not advantageous, his address was pleasing. The queen ordered her ministers to fix the terms of the contract; a day was appointed for the solemnisation of their nuptials, and every thing seemed to speak an approaching union. But Elizabeth could not be induced, as that event appeared to approach, to change her condition; she appeared doubtful, irresolute, and melancholy; she was observed to pass several nights without any sleep, till at last her settled habits of prudence prevailed over her ambition, and the duke of Anjou was dismissed.

The queen, thus depriving herself of a foreign ally, looked for approbation and assistance from her own subjects at home. Yet even here she was not without numberless enemies, who either hated her for religion, or envied her for success. There were several conspiracies formed against her life, many of which were imputed to the intrigues of the queen of Scots: at least it is certain that her name was used in all. Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, brother to him beheaded some years before, and Philip Howard, earl of Arundel, son to the unfortunate duke of Norfolk, fell under suspicion; and the latter was, by order of council, confined to his own house. Francis Throgmorton, a private gentleman, was committed to custody, on account of a letter which he had written to the queen of Scots; and shortly after confessing his guilt, he was condemned and executed. Soon after, William Parry, a catholic gentleman, who had on a former occasion received the queen's pardon, was found engaged in a desperate conspiracy to assassinate his sovereign and benefactor. He had consulted upon the justice and expediency

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of this vile measure both with the pope's nuncio and legate, who exhorted him to persevere in his resolution, and extremely applauded his design. He therefore associated himself with one Nevil, who entered zealously into the design; and it was determined to shoot the queen, while she was taking the air on horseback. But while they were watching an opportunity for the execution of their purpose, the earl of Westmorland happened to die in exile; and as Nevil was next heir to the family, he began to entertain hopes, that, by doing some acceptable service to the queen, he might recover the estate and honours which had been forfeited by the rebellion of the last earl. He betrayed the whole conspiracy to the ministers; and Parry being thrown into prison, confessed the guilt both to them, and to the jury who tried him. He was shortly after condemned and executed.

These attempts, which were entirely set on foot by the catholic party, served to increase the severity of the laws against them. Popish priests were banished the kingdom; those who harboured or relieved them were declared guilty of felony; and many were executed in consequence of this severe edict. Nor was the queen of Scots herself without some share of the punishment. She was removed from under the care of the earl of Shrewsbury, who had always been indulgent to his prisoner, particularly with regard to air and exercise; and she was committed to the custody of sir Amias Paulett, and sir Drue Drury, men of honour, but inflexible and rigid in their care and attention.

These conspiracies served to prepare the way for Mary's ruin, whose greatest misfortunes proceeded

ceeded rather from the violence of her friends, than the malignity of her enemies. Elizabeth's
A. D. 1586. ministers had long been waiting for some signal instance of the captive queen's enmity, which they could easily convert into treason; and this was not long wanting. About this time one John Ballard, a popish priest, who had been bred in the English seminary at Rheims, resolved to compass the death of a queen whom he considered as the enemy of his religion; and with that gloomy resolution came over into England in the disguise of a soldier, with the assumed name of captain Fortescue. He bent his endeavours to bring about at once the project of an assassination, an insurrection, and an invasion. The first person he addressed himself to was Anthony Babington, of Dethick, in the county of Derby, a young gentleman of good family, and possessed of a very plentiful fortune. This person had been long remarkable for his zeal in the catholic cause, and in particular for his attachment to the captive queen. He, therefore, came readily into the plot, and procured the concurrence and assistance of some other associates in this dangerous undertaking; Barnwell, a gentleman of a noble family in Ireland; Charnock, a gentleman of Lancashire; Abington, whose father had been cofferer to the household; and, chief of all, John Savage, a man of desperate fortune, who had served in the Low-Countries, and came into England under a vow to destroy the queen. He indeed did not seem to desire any associate in the bold enterprise, and refused for some time to permit any to share with him in what he esteemed his greatest glory. He challenged the whole to himself; and it was with

with some difficulty that he was induced to depart from his preposterous ambition. The next step was to apprise Mary of the conspiracy formed in her favour; and this they effected by conveying their letters to her (by means of a brewer that supplied the family with ale) through a chink in the wall of her apartment. In these, Babington informed her of a design laid for a foreign invasion, the plan of an insurrection at home, the scheme for her delivery, and the conspiracy for assassinating the usurper, by six noble gentlemen, as he termed them, all of them his private friends, who, from the zeal which they bore the catholic cause, and her majesty's service, would undertake the tragical execution. To these Mary replied, that she approved highly of the design; that the gentlemen might expect all the rewards which it should ever be in her power to confer; and that the death of Elizabeth was a necessary circumstance, previous to any farther attempts either for her delivery, or the intended insurrection.

Such was the scheme laid by the conspirators; and nothing seemed so certain as its secresy and its success. But they were all miserably deceived; the active and sagacious ministers of Elizabeth were privy to it in every stage of its growth, and only retarded their discovery till the meditated guilt was ripe for punishment and conviction. Ballard was actually attended by one Maude, a catholic priest, who was a spy in pay with Walsingham, secretary of state. One Polly, another of his spies, had found means to insinuate himself among the conspirators, and to give an exact account of their proceedings. Soon after, one Giffard, a priest, came over, and, discovering the

the whole conspiracy to the bottom, made a tender of his service to Walsingham. It was he that procured the letters to be conveyed through the wall to the queen, and received her answers; but he had always taken care to show them to the secretary of state, who had them deciphered, and took copies of them all.

The plot being thus ripe for execution, and the evidence against the conspirators incontestable, Walsingham resolved to suspend their punishment no longer. A warrant was accordingly issued out for the apprehending of Ballard; and this giving the alarm to Babington and the rest of the conspirators, they covered themselves with various disguises, and endeavoured to keep themselves concealed. But they were soon discovered, thrown into prison, and brought to trial. In their examination, they contradicted each other; and the leaders were obliged to make a full confession of the truth. Fourteen were condemned and executed, seven of whom died acknowledging their crime.

The execution of these wretched men only prepared the way for one of still greater importance, in which a captive queen was to submit to the unjust decisions of those who had no right, but that of power, to condemn her. Though all England was acquainted with the detection of Babington's conspiracy, every avenue to the unfortunate Mary was so strictly guarded, that she remained in utter ignorance of the whole matter. But her astonishment was equal to her anguish, when sir Thomas Gorges, by Elizabeth's order, came to inform her of the fate of her unhappy confederates. She was at that time mounted on horseback, going a hunting; and

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was not permitted to return to her former place of abode, but conducted from one gentleman's house to another, till she was lodged in Fotheringay-castle, in Northamptonshire, where the last scene of her miserable tragedy was to conclude.

The council of England was divided in opinion about the measures to be taken against the queen of Scots. Some members proposed, that as her health was very infirm, her life might be shortened by close confinement; therefore, to avoid any imputation of violence or cruelty, the earl of Leicester proposed that she should be dispatched by poison; but the majority insisted on her being put to death by legal process. Accordingly a commission was issued for forty peers, with five judges, or the major part of them, to try and pass sentence upon Mary, daughter and heir of James the Fifth, king of Scotland, commonly called queen of Scots, and dowager of France.

Thirty-six of these commissioners arriving at the castle of Fotheringay, presented her with a letter from Elizabeth, commanding her to submit to a trial for her late conspiracy. Mary perused the letter with great composure; and, as she had long foreseen the danger that hung over her, received the intelligence without emotion or astonishment. She said, however, that she wondered the queen of England should command her as a subject, who was an independent sovereign, and a queen like herself. She would never, she said, stoop to any condescension which would lessen her dignity, or prejudice the claims of her posterity. The laws of England, she observed, were unknown to her; she was destitute

A. D. 1586. Nov. 11.

tute of counsel; nor could she conceive who were to be her peers, as she had but one equal in the kingdom. She added, that, instead of enjoying the protection of the laws of England, as she had hoped to obtain, she had been confined in prison ever since her arrival in the kingdom; so that she derived neither benefit nor security from them. When the commissioners pressed her to submit to the queen's pleasure, otherwise they would proceed against her as contumacious, she declared she would rather suffer a thousand deaths than own herself a subject to any prince on earth: that, however, she was ready to vindicate herself in a full and free parliament; as, for aught she knew, this meeting of commissioners was devised against her life, on purpose to take it away with a pretext of justice. She exhorted them to consult their own consciences, and to remember that the theatre of the world was much more extensive than that of the kingdom of England. At length the vice-chamberlain Hatton vanquished her objections, by representing that she injured her reputation by avoiding a trial, in which her innocence might be proved to the satisfaction of all mankind. This observation made such an impression upon her, that she agreed to plead, if they would admit and allow her protest, of disallowing all subjection. This, however, they refused: but they satisfied her, by entering it upon record; and thus they proceeded to a trial.

The principal charge against her was urged by serjeant Gaudy, who accused her with knowing, approving, and consenting to Babington's conspiracy. This charge was supported by Babington's confession, by the copies which were taken

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of their correspondence, in which her approbation of the queen's murder was expressly declared, by the evidence of her own two secretaries, Nau a Frenchman, and Curle a Scotchman, who swore that she received Babington's letters, and that they had answered them by her orders. These were still farther confirmed by the testimony of Ballard and Savage, to whom Babington had shown these letters, declaring them to have come from the captive queen. To these charges Mary made a sensible and resolute defence; she said Babington's confession was extorted from his fears of the torture; which was really the case: she alleged that the letters were forgeries; and she defied her secretaries to persist in their evidence, if brought into her presence. She owned, indeed, that she had used her best endeavours to recover her liberty, which was only pursuing the dictates of nature; but as for harbouring a thought against the life of the queen, she treated the idea with horror. During the course of the trial, as a letter between Mary and Babington was reading, mention was made in it of the earl of Arundel and his brothers. On hearing their names, she shed a flood of tears, exclaiming, "Alas! what hath the noble house of the Howards endured for my sake!" She took occasion also to observe, that this letter might have been a base contrivance of Walsingham's, who had frequently practised both against her life and her son's. Walsingham, thus accused, rose up, and protested that his heart was free from malice; that he had never done any thing unbecoming an honest man in his private capacity, nor aught unworthy of the place he occupied in the state. Mary declared

clared herself satisfied of his innocence, and begged he would give as little credit to the malicious accusations of her enemies, as she now gave to the reports which she had heard to his prejudice.

Whatever might have been this queen's offences, it is certain that her treatment was very severe. She desired to be put in possession of such notes as she had taken preparative to her trial; but this was refused her. She demanded a copy of her protest; but her request was not complied with: she even required an advocate to plead her cause against so many learned lawyers as had undertaken to urge her accusations; but all her demands were rejected; and after an adjournment of some days, sentence of death was pronounced against her in the Star-chamber in Westminster, all the commissioners, except two, being present. At the same time a declaration was published by the commissioners, implying, that the sentence against her did no wise derogate from the title and honour of James, king of Scotland, son to the attainted queen.

Though the condemning a sovereign princess at a tribunal to which she owned no subjection was an injustice that must strike the most inat-
A.D. 1586. Octob. 29. tentive, yet the parliament of England, who met four days after, did not fail to approve the sentence, and to go still farther, in presenting an address to the queen, desiring that it might speedily be put into execution. But Elizabeth still possessed, or pretended to possess, an horror for such precipitate severity. She entreated them to find some expedient to save her from the necessity of taking a step so repugnant to her inclination. But at the same time she seemed to dread

dread another conspiracy to assassinate her within a month; which probably was only an artifice of her ministers to increase her apprehensions, and consequently her desire of being rid of a rival that had given her so much disturbance. The parliament, however, reiterated their solicitations, arguments, and entreaties; and even remonstrated, that mercy to the queen of Scots was cruelty to them, her subjects, and her children. Elizabeth affected to continue inflexible; but at the same time permitted Mary's sentence to be made public; and lord Buckhurst, and Beale, clerk to the council, were sent to the unhappy queen to apprise her of the sentence, and the popular clamour for its speedy execution.

Upon receiving this dreadful information, Mary seemed no way moved; but insisted that since her death was demanded by the protestants, she died a martyr to the catholic religion. She said, that as the English often embrued their hands in the blood of their own sovereigns, it was not to be wondered at that they exercised their cruelty towards her. She wrote her last letter to Elizabeth, not demanding her life, which she now seemed willing to part with, but desiring that, after her enemies should be satiated with her innocent blood, her body might be consigned to her servants, and conveyed to France, there to repose in a catholic country, with the sacred relics of her mother.

In the mean time, accounts of this extraordinary sentence were spread into all parts of Europe; and the king of France was among the foremost who attempted to avert the threatened blow. He sent over Believre as an extraordinary

embassador, with a professed intention of interceding for the life of Mary. But James of Scotland, her son, was, as in duty obliged, still more pressing in her behalf. He dispatched one Keith, a gentleman of his bed-chamber, with a letter to Elizabeth, conjuring her to spare the life of his parent, and mixing threats of vengeance in case of a refusal. Elizabeth treated his remonstrances with the utmost indignation; and when the Scots embassador begged that the execution might be put off for a week, the queen answered with great emotion, "No, not "for an hour." Thus Elizabeth, when solicited by foreign princes to pardon the queen of Scots, seemed always disposed to proceed to extremities against her; but when her ministers urged her to strike the blow, her scruples and her reluctance seemed to return.

Whether the queen was really sincere in her reluctance to execute Mary, is a question which, though usually given against her, I will not take upon me to determine. Certainly there were great arts used by her courtiers to determine her to the side of severity; as they had every thing to fear from the resentment of Mary, in case she ever succeeded to the throne. Accordingly, the kingdom was now filled with rumours of plots, treasons, and insurrections; and the queen was continually kept in alarm by fictitious dangers. She therefore appeared to be in great terror and perplexity; she was observed to sit much alone, and to mutter to herself half sentences, importing the difficulty and distress to which she was reduced. In this situation, she one day called her secretary, Davison, whom she ordered to draw out secretly the warrant for Mary's execution,

tion, informing him, that she intended to keep it by her in case any attempt should be made for the delivery of that princess. She signed the warrant, and then commanded it to be carried to the chancellor to have the seal affixed to it. Next morning, however, she sent two gentlemen successively to desire that Davison would not go to the chancellor, until she should see him; but Davison telling her that the warrant had been already sealed, she seemed displeased at his precipitation. Davison, who probably wished himself to see the sentence executed, laid the affair before the council, who unanimously resolved, that the warrant should be immediately put in execution, and promised to justify Davison to the queen. Accordingly, the fatal instrument was delivered to Beale, who summoned the noblemen to whom it was directed, namely, the earls of Shrewsbury, Derby, Kent, and Cumberland, and these together set out for Fotheringay castle, accompanied by two executioners, to dispatch their bloody commission.

Mary heard of the arrival of her executioners, who ordered her to prepare for death by eight o'clock the next morning. Without any alarm, she heard the death-warrant read with her usual composure, though she could not help expressing her surprise, that the queen of England should consent to her execution. She even abjured her being privy to any conspiracy against Elizabeth, by laying her hand upon a New Testament, which happened to lie on the table. She desired that her confessor might be permitted to attend her; which, however, these zealots refused. After the earls had retired, she ate sparingly at supper, while she comforted her attendants (who con-

tinued weeping, and lamenting their mistress with a cheerful countenance, telling them, they ought not to mourn, but to rejoice, at the prospect of her speedy deliverance from a world of misery. Towards the end of supper, she called in all her servants, and drank to them; they pledged her in order on their knees, and craved her pardon for any past neglect of duty. She craved mutual forgiveness; and a plentiful effusion of tears attended this last solemn separation.

After this, she reviewed her will, and perused the inventory of her effects. These she bequeathed to different individuals, and divided her money among her domestics, recommending them in letters to the king of France and the duke of Guise. Then going to bed at her usual hour, she passed part of the night in uninterrupted repose, and, rising, spent the remainder in prayer and acts of devotion. Towards morning, she dressed herself in a rich habit of silk and velvet, the only one which she had reserved for this solemn occasion. Thomas Andrews, the under-sheriff of the county, then entering the room, he informed her that the hour was come, and that he must attend her to the place of execution. She replied, that she was ready; and bidding her servants farewel, she proceeded, supported by two of her guards, and followed the sheriff, with a serene composed aspect, with a long veil of linen on her head, and in her hand a crucifix of ivory. In passing through a hall adjoining to her chamber, sir Andrew Melvil, master of her household, fell upon his knees, and, shedding a flood of tears, lamented his misfortune in being doomed to carry the news of her unhappy fate to Scotland.

"Lament

"Lament not," said she, "but rather rejoice. "Mary Stuart will soon be freed from all her "cares. Tell my friends that I die constant in "my religion, and firm in my affection and "fidelity to Scotland and France. God forgive "them that have long desired my end, and "have thirsted for my blood as the hart pant-"eth for the water-brook! Thou, O God, who "art truth itself, and perfectly understandest the "inmost thoughts of my heart, knowest how "greatly I have desired that the realms of Scot-"land and England might be united. Commend "me to my son, and assure him I have done "nothing prejudicial to the state or the crown of "Scotland. Admonish him to persevere in ami-"ty and friendship with the queen of Eng-"land, and see that thou doest him faithful ser-"vice. And so, good Melvil, farewel; once "again farewel, good Melvil, and grant the "assistance of thy prayers to thy queen and thy "mistress." In this place she was received by the four noblemen, who, with great difficulty, were prevailed upon to allow Melvil, with her physician, apothecary, and two female attend-ants, to be present at her execution. She then passed into another hall, the noblemen and the sheriff going before, and Melvil bearing up her train, where was a scaffold erected and covered with black. As soon as she was seated, Beale began to read the warrant for her execution. Then Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, standing without the rails, repeated a long exhortation, which she desired him to forbear, as she was firmly resolved to die in the catholic religion. The room was crowded with spectators, who beheld her with pity and distress, while her

beauty, though dimmed by age and affliction, gleamed through her sufferings, and was still remarkable in this fatal moment. The earl of Kent observing that in her devotions she made frequent use of the crucifix, he could not forbear reproving her, exhorting her to have Christ in her heart, not in her hand. She replied, with presence of mind, that it was difficult to hold such an object in hand, without feeling her heart touched for the sufferings of him whom it represented. She now began, with the aid of her two women, to undress for the block; and the executioner also lent his hand to assist them. She smiled, and said that she was not accustomed to undress herself before so large a company, nor to be attended by such servants. Her two women bursting into tears, and loud exclamations of sorrow, she turned about to them, put her finger upon her lips, as a sign of imposing silence upon them; and, having given them her blessing, desired their prayers in return. The two executioners kneeling, and asking her pardon, she said she forgave them, and all the authors of her death, as freely as she hoped forgiveness of her Maker, and then once more made a solemn protestation of her innocence. Her eyes were then covered with a linen handkerchief, and she laid herself down without any fear or trepidation. Then reciting a psalm, and repeating a pious ejaculation, her head was severed from her body at two strokes by the executioner. He instantly held it up to the spectators, streaming with blood, and agitated with the convulsions of death; the dean of Peterborough alone exclaimed, "So perish all queen Elizabeth's enemies!" The earl of Kent replied

replied Amen, while the rest of the spectators wept and sighed at this affecting spectacle; for flattery and zeal alike gave place to stronger and better emotions. Thus died Mary, in the forty-fifth year of her age, and the nineteenth of her captivity—a princess unmatched in beauty and unequalled in misfortunes. In contemplating the contentions of mankind, we find almost ever both sides culpable: Mary, who was stained with crimes that deserved punishment, was put to death by a princess who had no just pretensions to inflict punishment on her equal.

It is difficult to be certain of the true state of Elizabeth's mind, upon receiving the first accounts of the death of Mary. Historians in general are willing to ascribe the extreme sorrow she testified on that occasion to falsehood and deep dissimulation. But where is the necessity of ascribing to bad motives, what seems to proceed from a more generous source? There is nothing more certain than that, upon hearing the news, she testified the utmost surprise and indignation. Her countenance changed, her speech faltered and failed her, and she stood fixed for a long time in mute astonishment. When the first burst of sorrow was over, she still persisted in her resentment against her ministers, none of whom dared to approach her. She committed Davison to prison, and ordered him to be tried in the Star-chamber for his misdemeanour. He was condemned to imprisonment during the queen's pleasure, and to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds; in consequence of which he remained a long time in custody; and the fine, though it reduced him to want and beggary, was rigorously levied upon him. It is likely,

therefore, that Elizabeth was sincere enough in her anger for the fate of Mary, as it was an event likely to brand her reign with the character of cruelty; and though she might have desired her rival's death, yet she must certainly be shocked at the manner of it.

But the uneasiness the queen felt from this disagreeable forwardness of her ministry was soon lost in one much greater. Philip, who had long meditated the destruction of England, and whose extensive power gave him grounds to hope for success, now began to put his projects into execution. The point on which he rested his glory, and the perpetual object of his schemes, was to support the catholic religion, and exterminate the Reformation. The revolt of his subjects in the Netherlands still more inflamed his resentment against the English, as they had encouraged that insurrection, and assisted the revolters. He had, therefore, for some time been making preparations to attack England by a powerful invasion; and now every part of his vast empire resounded with the noise of armaments, and every art was used to levy supplies for that great design. The marquis of Santa Cruz, a sea-officer of great reputation and experience, was destined to command the fleet, which consisted of a hundred and thirty vessels, of a greater size than any that had been hitherto seen in Europe. The duke of Parma was to conduct the land forces, twenty thousand of whom were on board the fleet, and thirty-four thousand more were assembled in the Netherlands, ready to be transported into England. The most renowned nobility and princes of Italy and Spain were ambitious in sharing in the honour of this great enterprise.

terprise. Don Amadæus of Savoy, Don John of Medicis, Gonzaga duke of Sabionetta, and others, hastened to join this great equipment; no doubt was entertained of its success, and it was ostentatiously styled the Invincible Armada. It carried on board, beside the land forces, eight thousand four hundred mariners, two thousand galley-slaves, and two thousand six hundred and thirty great pieces of brass ordnance. It was victualled for six months, and was attended with twenty lesser ships, called caravals, and ten salves, with six oars a-piece.

Nothing could exceed the terror and consternation which all ranks of people felt in England upon news of this terrible Armada being under sail to invade them. A fleet of not above thirty ships of war, and those very small in comparison, was all that was to oppose it by sea; and as for resisting by land, that was supposed to be impossible, as the Spanish army was composed of men well disciplined, and long enured to danger. The queen alone seemed undismayed in this threatening calamity; she issued all her orders with tranquillity; animated her people to a steady resistance; and the more to excite the martial spirit of the nation, she appeared on horseback in the camp at Tilbury, exhorting the soldiers to their duty, and promising to share the same dangers and the same fate with them. "I myself," cried she, "will be "your general, your judge, and the rewarder "of every one of your virtues in the field. "Your alacrity has already deserved its re- "wards, and, on the word of a prince, they "shall be duly paid you. Persevere then in "your obedience to command, show your va-

"lour

"lour in the field, and we shall soon have a "glorious victory over those enemies of my God, "my kingdom, and my people." The soldiers with shouts proclaimed their ardour, and only wished to be led on to conquest.

Nor were her preparations by sea driven on with less alacrity: although the English fleet was much inferior in number and size of shipping to that of the enemy, yet it was much more manageable, the dexterity and courage of the mariners being greatly superior. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of great courage and capacity, as lord admiral, took on him the command of the navy. Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under him; while a small squadron, consisting of forty vessels, English and Flemish, commanded by lord Seymour, lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the duke of Parma. This was the preparation made by the English, while all the protestant powers of Europe regarded this enterprise as the critical event which was to decide for ever the fate of their religion.

In the mean time, while the Spanish Armada was preparing to sail, the admiral Santa Cruz died, as likewise the vice-admiral Paliano; and the command of the expedition was given to the duke de Medina Sidonia, a person utterly unexperienced in sea-affairs; and this, in some measure, served to frustrate the design. But some other accidents also contributed to its failure. Upon leaving the port of Lisbon, the Armada next day met with a violent tempest, which sunk some of the smallest of their shipping, and obliged the fleet to put back into harbour. After some time spent in refitting, they again put to sea,

sea, where they took a fisherman, who gave them intelligence that the English fleet, hearing of the dispersion of the Armada in a storm, was retired into Plymouth harbour, and most of the mariners discharged. From this false intelligence, the Spanish admiral, instead of going directly to the coast of Flanders, to take in the troops stationed there, as he had been instructed, resolved to sail to Plymouth, and destroy the shipping laid up in that harbour. But Effingham, the English admiral, was very well prepared to receive them; he was just got out of port when he saw the Spanish Armada coming full sail towards him, disposed in the form of a half moon, and stretching seven miles from one extremity to the other. However, the English admiral, seconded by Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, attacked the Armada at a distance, pouring in their broadsides with admirable dexterity. They did not choose to engage the enemy more closely, because they were greatly inferior in the number of ships, guns, and weight of metal; nor could they pretend to board such lofty ships without manifest disadvantage. However, two Spanish galleons were disabled and taken. As the Armada advanced up the channel, the English still followed and infested their rear; and their fleet continually increasing from different ports, they soon found themselves in a capacity to attack the Spanish fleet more nearly; and accordingly fell upon them while they were as yet taking shelter in the port of Calais. To increase their confusion, Howard took eight of his smaller ships, and, filling them with combustible materials, sent them, as if they had been fire-ships, one after the other into the midst of the

the enemy. The Spaniards, taking them for what they seemed to be, immediately took flight in great disorder; while the English, profiting by their panic, took or destroyed about twelve of the enemy.

This was a fatal blow to Spain: the duke de Medina Sidonia being thus driven to the coast of Zealand, held a council of war, in which it was resolved, that, as their ammunition began to fail, as their ships had received great damage, and as the duke of Parma had refused to venture his army under their protection, they should return to Spain by sailing round the Orkneys, as the winds were contrary to his passage directly back. Accordingly they proceeded northward, and were followed by the English fleet as far as Flamborough-head, where they were terribly shattered by a storm. Seventeen of the ships, having five thousand men on board, were afterwards cast away upon the Western Isles and the coast of Ireland. Of the whole Armada, three-and-fifty ships only returned to Spain, in a miserable condition: and the seamen as well as soldiers who remained, only served, by their accounts, to intimidate their countrymen from attempting to renew so dangerous an expedition.

These disasters of the Spanish Armada served only to excite the spirit and courage of the English to attempt invasions in their turn. It would be endless to relate all the advantages obtained over the enemy at sea, where the capture of every ship must have been made a separate narrative; or their various descents upon different parts of the coast, which were attended with effects too transient for the page of history. It is sufficient to observe, that the sea-captains of that

reign

reign are still considered as the boldest and most enterprising set of men that England ever produced; and among this number we reckon our Raleigh and Howard, our Drake, our Cavendish, and Hawkins. The English navy then first began to take the lead, and has since continued irresistible in all parts of the ocean.

Of those who made the most signal figure in these depredations upon Spain was the young earl of Essex, a nobleman of great bravery, generosity, and genius; and fitted, not only for the foremost ranks in war by his valour, but to conduct the intrigues of a court by his eloquence and address. But with all these endowments, both of body and mind, he wanted prudence; being impetuous, haughty, and totally incapable of advice or controul. The earl of Leicester had died some time before, and now left room in the queen's affections for a new favourite, which she was not long in choosing, since the merit, the bravery, and the popularity of Essex were too great not to engage her attention. Elizabeth, though she rejected a husband, yet appeared always passionately desirous of a lover; and flattery had rendered her so insensible to her want of beauty, and the depredations of age, that she still thought herself as powerful by her personal accomplishments as by her authority. The new favourite was young, active, ambitious, witty, and handsome; in the field, and at court, he always appeared with superior lustre. In all the masques which were then performed, the earl and Elizabeth were generally coupled as partners; and although she was almost sixty, and he not half so old, yet her vanity overlooked the disparity; the world told her

her that she was young, and she herself was willing to think so. This young earl's interest in the queen's affections, as may naturally be supposed, promoted his interests in the state; and he conducted all things at his discretion. But, young and unexperienced as he was, he at length began to fancy that the popularity he possessed, and the flatteries he received, were given to his merits and not to his favour. His jealousy also of lord Burleigh, who was his only rival in power, made him still more untractable; and the many successes he had obtained against the Spaniards increased his confidence. In a debate before the queen, between him and Burleigh, about the choice of a governor for Ireland, he was so heated in the argument, that he entirely forgot the rules both of duty and civility. He turned his back on the queen in a contemptuous manner; which so provoked her resentment, that she instantly gave him a box on the ear. Instead of recollecting himself, and making the submissions due to her sex and station, he clapped his hand to his sword, and swore he would not bear such usage even from her father. This offence, though very great, was overlooked by the queen; her partiality was so prevalent, that she re-instated him in his former favour, and her kindness seemed to have acquired new force from that short interruption of anger and resentment. The death also of his rival lord Burleigh, which happened shortly after, seemed to confirm his power.

But though few men were possessed of Essex's talents, both for war and peace, yet he had not art enough to guard against the intrigues of a court; his temper was too candid and open, and

and gave his enemies many advantages over him. At that time the earl of Tyrone headed the rebellious natives of Ireland; who, not yet thoroughly brought into subjection to the English, took every opportunity to make incursions upon the more civilised inhabitants, and slew all they were able to overpower. To subdue these was an employment that Essex thought worthy of his ambition; nor were his enemies displeased at thus removing a man from court, where he obstructed all their private aims of preferment. But it ended in his ruin.

Essex, upon entering on his new command in Ireland, employed his friend, the earl of Southampton, who was long obnoxious to the queen, as general of horse; nor was it till after repeated orders from Elizabeth that he could be prevailed on to displace him. This indiscretion was followed by another: instead of attacking the enemy in their grand retreat in Ulster, he led his forces into the province of Munster, where he only exhausted his strength, and lost his opportunity against a people that submitted at his approach, but took up arms again when he retired. It may easily be supposed that these miscarriages were urged by the enemies of Essex at home; but they had still greater reason to attack his reputation when it was known that, instead of humbling the rebels, he had only treated with them; and instead of forcing them to a submission, he had concluded a cessation of hostilities. This issue of an enterprise, from which much was expected, did not fail to provoke the queen most sensibly; and her anger was still more heightened by the peevish and impatient letters which he daily wrote to her

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and the council. But her resentment against him was still more justly let loose, when she found, that, leaving the place of his appointment, and without any permission demanded or obtained, he had returned from Ireland to make his complaints to herself in person.

At first, indeed, Elizabeth was pleased at seeing a favourite come back, whom she longed to see; but the momentary satisfaction of his unexpected appearance being over, she reflected on the impropriety of his conduct with greater severity, and ordered him to remain a prisoner at his own house. But this was a reception Essex was not unprepared for: he used every expression of humiliation and sorrow, and tried once more the long unpractised arts of insinuation that had brought him into favour. The queen still continuing inflexible, he resolved to give up every prospect of ambition; but, previous to his retiring into the country, he assured the queen that he could never be happy till he again saw those eyes which were used to shine upon him with such lustre; that, in expectance of that happy moment, he would, like another Nebuchadnezzar, dwell with the beasts of the field, and be wet with the dew of heaven, till she again propitiously took pity on his sufferings. This romantic message, which was quite in the breeding of the times, seemed peculiarly pleasing to the queen; she thought him sincere from the consciousness of her own sincerity; she therefore replied, that, after some time, when convinced of his sincerity, something might be expected from her lenity. When these symptoms of the queen's returning affection were known, they equally renewed the fears of his real enemies,

mies, and the assiduities of his pretended friends. He did not therefore decline an examination of his conduct before the council, secure in his mistress's favour, and their impotence to do him a real injury. In consequence of this he was only sentenced, for his late misconduct, to resign his employments, and to continue a prisoner in his own house, till her majesty's farther pleasure should be known.

He now had, in some measure, triumphed over his enemies; and the discretion of a few months might have reinstated him in all his former employments; but the impetuosity of his character would not suffer him to wait for a slow redress of what he considered as wrongs; and the queen's refusing his request to continue him in the possession of a lucrative monopoly of sweet wines, which he had long enjoyed, spurred him on to the most violent and guilty measures. Having long built with fond credulity on his great popularity, he began to hope, from the assistance of the giddy multitude, that revenge upon his enemies in the council, which he supposed was denied him from the throne. With these aims, he began to increase the general propensity in his favour, by a hospitality little suited to his situation or his circumstances. He entertained men of all ranks and professions; but particularly the military, who, he hoped, in his present views, might be serviceable to him. But his greatest dependence was upon the professions of the citizens of London, whose schemes of religion and government he appeared entirely to approve; and while he gratified the puritans by railing at the government of the church, he pleased the envious, by exposing the faults of A. D. 1600.

those in power. However, the chief severity of his censure was heard to rest upon the queen, whom he did not hesitate to ridicule; and of whom he declared that she was now become an old woman, and that her mind was grown as crooked as her body.

It may well be supposed that none of these indiscretions were concealed from the queen; his enemies, and her emissaries, took care to bring her information of all his resentments and aims, and to aggravate his slightest reflections into treason. Elizabeth was ever remarkably jealous where her beauty was in question; and, though she was now in her seventieth year, yet she eagerly listened to all the flattery of her courtiers, when they called her a Venus, or an angel. She therefore began to consider him as unworthy of her esteem, and permitted his enemies to drive him to those extremities to which he was naturally very well inclined to proceed. He had, in fact, by this time collected together a select council of malcontents, who flattered him in his wild projects; and supposing their adherents much more numerous than they really were, they took no pains to conceal their intentions. Among other criminal projects, the result of blind rage and despair, they resolved at last that sir Christopher Blount, one of his creatures, should, with a choice detachment, possess himself of the palace gates; that sir John Davies should seise the hall, sir Charles Davers the guard-chamber, while Essex himself would rush in from the Mews, attended by a body of his partisans, into the queen's presence, entreat her to remove his and her enemies, to assemble a new parliament,

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and to correct the defects of the present administration.

It was the fortune of this queen's reign, that all projects against it were frustrated by a timely notice of their nature and intent. The queen and council, alarmed at the great resort of people to Essex, and having some intimations of his design, sent secretary Herbert to require his appearance before the council, which was assembled at the lord keeper's. While Essex was deliberating upon the manner he should proceed, whether to attend the summons or fly into open rebellion, he received a private note, by which he was warned to provide for his own safety. He now, therefore, consulted with his friends touching the emergency of their situation; they were destitute of arms and ammunition, while the guards at the palace were doubled, so that any attack upon it would be fruitless. While he and his confidants were in consultation, a person, probably employed by his enemies, came in as a messenger from the citizens, with tenders of friendship and assistance against all his adversaries. Wild as the project was of raising the city, in the present terrible conjuncture it was resolved on; but the execution of it was delayed till the day following.

Early in the morning of the next day, he was attended by his friends, the earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lords Sandes, Parker, and Mounteagle, with three hundred persons of distinction. The doors of Essex-house were immediately locked, to prevent all strangers from entering; and the earl now discovered his scheme for raising the city more fully to all the conspirators. In the mean time, sir Walter Raleigh sending

a message to sir Ferdinando Gorges, this officer had a conference with him in a boat on the Thames, and there discovered all their proceedings. The queen being informed of the whole, sent in the utmost haste Egerton, the lord keeper, sir William Knollys, the comptroller, Popham, the lord chief justice, and the earl of Worcester, to Essex-house, to demand the cause of these unusual proceedings. It was some time before they received admittance through the wicket into the house; and it was not without some degree of fury, that they ordered Essex and his adherents to lay down their arms. While they continued undaunted in the discharge of their duty, and the multitude around them clamoured loudly for their punishment, the earl of Essex, who now saw that all was to be hazarded, resolved to leave them prisoners in his house, and to sally forth to make an insurrection in the city. But he had made a very wrong estimate in expecting that popularity alone could aid him in time of danger; he issued out with about two hundred followers, armed only with swords; and in his passage to the city was joined by the earl of Bedford and lord Cromwell. As he passed through the streets, he cried aloud, "For the "queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my "life!" hoping to engage the populace to rise: but they had received orders from the mayor to keep within their houses; so that he was not joined by a single person. He then proceeded to the house of Smith, the sheriff, on whose aid he greatly depended; but the crowd gathered round him rather to satisfy their curiosity than to lend him any assistance. Essex now perceived that he was quite undone; and hearing that he

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was proclaimed a traitor by the earl of Cumberland and lord Burleigh, he began to think of retreating to his own house, there to sell his life as dearly as he could. But he was prevented in his aims even there; the streets in his way were barricadoed, and guarded by the citizens, under the command of sir John Levison. In fighting his way through this obstruction, Henry Tracy, a young gentleman, for whom he had a singular affection, was killed, and sir Christopher Blount wounded and taken. The earl himself, attended by a few of his followers, the rest having privately retired, made towards the river: and, taking a boat, arrived once more at Essex-house, where he began to make preparations for his defence. But his case was too desperate for any remedy from valour; wherefore, after demanding in vain for hostages and conditions from his besiegers, he surrendered at discretion, requesting only civil treatment, and a fair and impartial hearing.

Essex and Southampton were immediately carried to the archbishop's palace at Lambeth, from whence they were next day conveyed to the Tower, and tried by their peers on the nineteenth of February following. Little could be urged in their defence; their guilt was too flagrant; and though it deserved pity, it could not meet an acquittal. Essex, after condemnation, was visited by that religious horror which seemed to attend him in all his disgraces. He was terrified almost to despair by the ghostly remonstrances of his own chaplain; he was reconciled to his enemies, and made a full confession of his conspiracy. It is alleged upon this occasion, that he had strong hopes of pardon, from the

irresolution which the queen seemed to discover before she signed the warrant for his execution. She had given him formerly a ring, which she desired him to send her in any emergency of this nature, and that it should procure his safety and protection. This ring was actually sent her by the countess of Nottingham, who, being a concealed enemy to the unfortunate earl, never delivered it; while Elizabeth secretly fired at his obstinacy in making no applications for mercy and forgiveness. The fact is, she appeared herself as much an object of pity as the unfortunate nobleman she was induced to condemn. She signed the warrant for his execution; she countermanded it; she again resolved on his death, and again felt a new return of tenderness. At last she gave her consent to his execution, and was never seen to enjoy one happy day more.

After the beheading of Essex, which death he suffered in the thirty-fifth year of his age, some of his associates were brought in like manner to their trials. Cuffe, his secretary, a turbulent man, but possessed of great learning, Davers, Blount, Meric, and Davies, were condemned, and executed; the queen pardoned the rest, being persuaded that they were culpable only from their friendship to their benefactor.

The remaining events of this reign are not considerable enough to come into a picture already crowded with great ones. With the death of her favourite Essex, all Elizabeth's pleasures seemed to expire; she afterwards went through the business of the state merely from habit; but her satisfactions were no more. She had fallen into a profound melancholy, which all the advan-

vantages of her high fortune, all the glories of her prosperous reign, were unable to remove. She had now found out the falsehood of the countess of Nottingham; who, on her death-bed, sent for the queen, and informed her of the fatal circumstance of the ring, which she had neglected to deliver. This information only served to awaken all that passion which the queen had vainly endeavoured to suppress. She shook the dying countess in her bed, crying out, that "God might pardon her, but she never "would." She then broke from her, and resigned herself to the dictates of her fixed despair. She refused food and sustenance; she continued silent and gloomy; sighs and groans were the only vent she gave to her despondence; and she lay for ten days and nights upon the carpet, leaning on cushions which her maids brought her. Perhaps the faculties of her mind were impaired by long and violent exercise; perhaps she reflected with remorse on some past actions of her life, or perceived, but too strongly, the decays of nature, and the approach of her dissolution. She saw her courtiers remitting their assiduity to her, in order to pay their court to James, the apparent successor. Such a concurrence of causes was more than sufficient to destroy the remains of her constitution: and her end was now visibly seen to approach. Feeling a perpetual heat in her stomach, attended with an unquenchable thirst, she drank without ceasing, but refused the assistance of her physicians. Her distemper gaining ground, Cecil, and the lord admiral, desired to know her sentiments with regard to the succession. To this she replied, that as the crown of England had

always been held by kings, it ought not to devolve upon any inferior character, but upon her immediate heir, the king of Scotland. Being then advised by the archbishop of Canterbury to fix her thoughts upon God, she replied that her thoughts did not in the least wander from him. Her voice soon after left her; she fell into a lethargic slumber, which continued some hours, and she expired gently without a groan, in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign. Her character differed with her circumstances; in the beginning, she was moderate and humble; towards the end of her reign, haughty and severe. But ever prudent, active, and discerning, she procured for her subjects that happiness which was not entirely felt by those about her. She was indebted to her good fortune, that her ministers were excellent; but it was owing to her indiscretion that the favourites, who were more immediately chosen by herself, were unworthy. Though she was possessed of excellent sense, yet she never had the discernment to discover that she wanted beauty; and to flatter her charms at the age of sixty-five, was the surest road to her favour and esteem.

But whatever were her personal defects, as a queen she is to be ever remembered by the English with gratitude. It is true, indeed, that she carried her prerogative in parliament to its highest pitch; so that it was tacitly allowed in that assembly, that she was above all laws, and could make and unmake them at her pleasure; yet still she was so wise and good, as seldom to exert that power which she claimed, and to enforce few acts of her prerogative, which were not for the benefit of the people. It is true, in

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like manner, that the English during her reign were put in possession of no new or splendid acquisitions; but commerce was daily growing up amongst them, and the people began to find that the theatre of their truest conquests was to be on the bosom of the ocean. A nation which hitherto had been the object of every invasion, and a prey to every plunderer, now asserted its strength in turn, and became terrible to its invaders. The successful voyages of the Spaniards and Portuguese began to excite their emulation; and they fitted out several expeditions for discovering a shorter passage to the East Indies. The famous sir Walter Raleigh, without any assistance from government, colonised New England, while internal commerce was making equal improvements; and many Flemings, persecuted in their native country, found, together with their arts and industry, an easy asylum in England. Thus the whole island seemed as if roused from her long habits of barbarity; arts, commerce, and legislation, began to acquire new strength every day; and such was the state of learning at the time, that some fix this period as the Augustan age of England. Sir Walter Raleigh, and Hooker, are considered as among the first improvers of our language. Spenser and Shakspeare are too well known as poets, to be praised here; but of all mankind, Francis Bacon, lord Verulam, who flourished in this reign, deserves, as a philosopher, the highest applause; his style is copious and correct, and his wit is only surpassed by his learning and penetration. If we look through history, and consider the rise of kingdoms, we shall scarce find an instance of a people becoming, in so short a time,

time, wise, powerful, and happy. Liberty, it is true, still continued to fluctuate: Elizabeth knew her own power, and stretched it to the very verge of despotism; but now that commerce was introduced, liberty soon after followed; for there never was a nation perfectly commercial, that submitted long to slavery.



CHAP. XXVIII.

JAMES I.

JAMES, the Sixth of Scotland and the First of England, the son of Mary, came to the throne with the universal approbation of all orders of the state, as in his person were united every claim, that either descent, bequest, or parliamentary sanction could confer. He had every reason, therefore, to hope for a happy reign; and he was taught, from his infancy, that his prerogative was uncontroulable, and his right transmitted from heaven. These sentiments he took

took no care to conceal; and even published them in many parts of those works which he had written before he left Scotland.

But he was greatly mistaken in the spirit of thinking of the times; for new systems of government, and new ideas of liberty, had for some time been stealing in with the Reformation; and only wanted the reign of a weak or merciful monarch, to appear without controul. In consequence of the progress of knowledge, and a familiar acquaintance with the governments of antiquity, the old Gothic forms began to be despised; and an emulation took place, to imitate the freedom of Greece and Rome. The severe though popular government of Elizabeth had confined this rising spirit within very narrow bounds; but when a new sovereign and a new family appeared, less dreaded and less loved by the people, symptoms immediately began to be seen of a more free and independent genius in the nation.

James scarce was entered into England when he gave disgust to many. The desire in all to see their new sovereign was ardent and natural; but the king, who loved retirement, forbid the concourse that attended on his journey from Scotland, pretending that this great resort of people would produce a scarcity of provisions. To this offence to the people he added, soon after, what gave offence to the higher orders of the state, by prostituting titles of honour, so that they became so common as to be no longer marks of distinction. A pasquinade was fixed up at St. Paul's, declaring that there would be a lecture given on the art of assisting short memories, to retain the names of the new nobility.

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But though his countrymen shared a part of these honours, yet justice must be done the king, by confessing that he left almost all the great offices in the hands he found them. Among these, Cecil, created earl of Salisbury, who had been so active in the last reign against his own interests, was continued prime minister and chief counsellor. This crafty statesman had been too cunning for the rest of his associates; and while, during Elizabeth's reign, he was apparently leagued against the earl of Essex whom James protected, yet he kept up a secret correspondence with that monarch, and secured his interests without forfeiting the confidence of his party.

But it was not so fortunate with lord Grey, lord Cobham, and sir Walter Raleigh, who had been Cecil's associates. They felt immediately the effects of the king's displeasure, and were dismissed their employments. These three seemed to be marked out for peculiar indignation; for soon after they were accused of entering into a conspiracy against the king; neither the proofs of which, nor its aims, have reached posterity: all that is certain is, that they were condemned to die, but had their sentence mitigated by the king. Cobham and Grey were pardoned, after they had laid their heads on the block. Raleigh was reprieved, but remained in confinement many years afterwards, and at last suffered for this offence, which was never proved.

This mercy, shown to those supposed delinquents, was very pleasing to the people; and the king, willing to remove all jealousy of his being a stranger, began his attempts in parliament by an endeavour to unite both kingdoms into one. However, the people were not as yet ripe for this coali-

coalition; they were apprehensive that the posts and employments, which were in the gift of the court, would be conferred on the Scots, whom they were as yet taught to regard as foreigners. By the repulse in this instance, as well as by some exceptions the house of commons took to the form of his summons to parliament, James found that the people he came to govern were very different from those he had left behind; and perceived that he must give reasons for every measure he intended to enforce.

He now, therefore, attempted to correct his former mistake, and to peruse the English laws, as he had formerly done those of his own country; and by these he resolved to govern. But even here he again found himself disappointed. In a government so fluctuating as that of England, opinion was ever deviating from law; and what was enacted in one reign, was contradicted by custom in another. The laws had all along declared in favour of an almost unlimited prerogative, while the opinions of the people were guided by instructors who began to teach opposite principles. All the kings and queens before him, except such as were controuled by intestine divisions, or awed by foreign invasion, rather issued their commands to parliament, than gave their reasons. James, unmindful of this alteration in the opinions of the people, resolved to govern in the ancient manner; while the people, on the contrary, having once got an idea of the inherent privileges of mankind, never gave it up, sensible that they had reason and power also on their side.

Numberless were the disputes between the king and his parliament, during his whole reign; the

the one striving to keep the privileges of the crown entire, the other aiming at abridging the dangerous part of the prerogative; the one labouring to preserve customs established for time immemorial, the other equally assiduous in defending the inherent privileges of humanity. Thus we see laudable motives actuating the disputants on both sides of the question, and the principles of both founded either in law or in reason. When the parliament would not grant a subsidy, James had examples enough among his predecessors, which taught him to extort a benevolence. Edward the Fourth, Henry the Eighth, and queen Elizabeth herself, had often done so; and precedent undoubtedly entitled him to the same privilege. On the other hand, the house of commons, who found their growing power to protect the people, and not suffer the impositions of the crown, considered that this extorted benevolence might at length render the sovereign entirely independent of the parliament, and therefore complained against it as an infringement of their privileges. These attempts of the crown, and these murmurings of the commons, continued through this whole reign, and first gave rise to that spirit of party which has ever since subsisted in England; the one for preserving the ancient constitution, by maintaining the prerogative of the king, the other for trying an experiment to improve it, by extending the liberties of the people.

During these contests, James, who supposed no arguments sufficient to impair the prerogative, seemed entirely secure that none would attempt to allege any. He daily continued to entertain his parliament with set speeches, and florid harangues,

harangues, in which he urged his divine right and absolute power as things incontestable; to these the commons made as regular answers, not absolutely denying his pretensions, but slowly and regularly abridging his power.

However, though James persevered in asserting his prerogative, and threatened those who should presume to abridge it, yet his justice and clemency were very apparent in the toleration which he gave to the teachers of different religions throughout the kingdom. The minds of the people had long been irritated against one another, and each party persecuted the rest, as it happened to prevail; it was expected, therefore, that James would strengthen the hands of that which was then uppermost; and that the catholics and sectaries should find no protection. But this monarch wisely observed, that men should be punished for actions, and not for opinions; a decision which gave general dissatisfaction; but the universal complaint of every sect was the best argument of his moderation towards all.

Yet mild as this monarch was, there was a project contrived in the very beginning of his reign for the re-establishment of popery, which, were it not a fact known to all the world, could scarcely be credited by posterity. This was the gun-powder plot; than which a more horrid or terrible scheme never entered into the human heart to conceive, and which shows at once that the most determined courage may be united with the most execrable intentions.

The Roman catholics had expected great favour and indulgence on the accession of James, both as a descendant from Mary, a rigid catholic, and also from his having shown some partiality to

that

that religion in his youth. But they soon discovered their mistake, and were at once surprised and enraged to find James on all occasions express his resolution of strictly executing the laws enacted against them, and of persevering in the conduct of his predecessor. This declaration determined them upon more desperate measures; and they at length formed a resolution of destroying the king and both houses of parliament at a blow. The scheme was first broached by Robert Catesby, a gentleman of good parts and ancient family, who conceived that a train of gun-powder might be so placed under the parliament-house; as to blow up the king and all the members at once. He opened his intention to Thomas Percy, a descendant from the illustrious house of Northumberland, who was charmed with the project, and readily came into it. Thomas Winter was next intrusted with the dreadful secret; and he went over to Flanders in quest of Guy Fawkes, an officer in the Spanish service, with whose zeal and courage the conspirators were thoroughly acquainted. When they enlisted any new zealot into their plot, the more firmly to bind him to secresy, they always, together with an oath, employed the sacrament, the most sacred rite of religion. Every tender feeling and all pity were banished from their breasts; and Tesmond and Garnet, two Jesuits, superiors of the order, absolved their consciences from every scruple.

How horrid soever the contrivance might appear, yet every member seemed faithful and secret in the league; and about two months before the sitting of parliament, they hired a house, in Percy's name, adjoining to that in

which the parliament was to assemble. Their first intention was to bore a way under the parliament-house, from that which they occupied, and they set themselves laboriously to the task; but when they had pierced the wall, which was three yards in thickness, on approaching the other side, they were surprised to find that the house was vaulted underneath, and that a magazine of coals was usually deposited there. From their disappointment on this account they were soon relieved, by information that the coals were selling off, and that the vaults would be then let to the highest bidder. They therefore seized the opportunity of hiring the place, and bought the remaining quantity of coals with which it was then stored, as if for their own use. The next thing done was to convey thither thirty-six barrels of gun-powder, which had been purchased in Holland; and the whole was covered with the coals and with faggots brought for that purpose. Then the doors of the cellar were boldly flung open, and every body admitted, as if it contained nothing dangerous.

Confident of success, they now began to plan the remaining part of their project. The king, the queen, and prince Henry, the king's eldest son, were all expected to be present at the opening of the parliament. The king's second son, by reason of his tender age, would be absent, and it was resolved that Percy should seize or assassinate him. The princess Elizabeth, a child likewise, was kept at lord Harrington's house, in Warwickshire; and sir Everard Digby was to seize her, and immediately proclaim her queen.

The day for the sitting of parliament now approached. Never was treason more secret, or ruin

more

more apparently inevitable; the hour was expected with impatience, and the conspirators gloried in their meditated guilt. The dreadful secret, though communicated to above twenty persons, had been religiously kept during the space of near a year and a half; when all the motives of pity, justice, and safety, were too weak, a remorse of private friendship saved the kingdom.

Sir Henry Percy, one of the conspirators, conceived a design of saving the life of lord Monteagle, his intimate friend and companion, who also was of the same persuasion with himself. About ten days before the meeting of parliament, this nobleman, upon his return to town, received a letter from a person unknown, and delivered by one who fled as soon as he had discharged his message. The letter was to this effect: "My Lord, stay away from this par-
"liament; for God and man have concurred to
"punish the wickedness of the times. And
"think not slightly of this advertisement, but
"retire yourself into your country, where you
"may expect the event in safety. For though
"there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say
"they will receive a terrible blow this parlia-
"ment; and yet they shall not see who hurts
"them. This counsel is not to be contemned;
"because it may do you good, and can do you
"no harm. For the danger is past as soon as
"you have burned the letter."

The contents of this mysterious letter surprised and puzzled the nobleman to whom it was addressed; and though inclined to think it a foolish attempt to fright and ridicule him, yet he judged it safest to carry it to lord Salisbury, secretary of state. Lord Salisbury too was in-

clined to give little attention to it, yet thought proper to lay it before the king in council, who came to town a few days after. None of the council were able to make any thing of it, although it appeared serious and alarming. In this universal agitation between doubt and apprehension, the king was the first who penetrated the meaning of this dark epistle. He concluded that some sudden danger was preparing by gunpowder; and it was thought advisable to inspect all the vaults below the houses of parliament. This care belonged to the earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain, who purposely delayed the search till the day before the meeting of parliament. He remarked those great piles of faggots which lay in the vault under the house of peers; and he cast his eye upon Fawkes, who stood in a dark corner, and who passed himself for Percy's servant. That daring determined courage, which he had long been noted for, even among the desperate, was fully painted in his countenance, and struck the lord-chamberlain with strong suspicion. The great quantity of fuel also kept there for the use of a person seldom in town did not pass unnoticed; and he resolved to take his time to make a more exact scrutiny. About midnight, therefore, sir Thomas Knevett, a justice of the peace, was sent with proper attendants; and just at the entrance of the vault he seized a man preparing for the terrible enterprise, dressed in a cloak and boots, and a dark lantern in his hand. This was no other than Guy Fawkes, who had just disposed every part of the train for its taking fire the next morning, the matches and other combustibles being found in his pockets. The whole of the design was now

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now discovered; but the atrociousness of his guilt, and the despair of pardon, inspiring him with resolution, he told the officers of justice, with an undaunted air, that had he blown them and himself up together, he had been happy. Before the council, he displayed the same intrepid firmness, mixed even with scorn and disdain, refusing to discover his associates, and showing no concern but for the failure of his enterprise. But his bold spirit was at length subdued; being confined to the Tower for two or three days, and the rack just shown him, his courage, fatigued with so long an effort, at last failed him, and he made a full discovery of all his accomplices.

Catesby, Percy, and the conspirators who were in London, hearing that Fawkes was arrested, fled with all speed to Warwickshire, where sir Everard Digby, relying on the success of the plot, was already in arms, in order to seize the princess Elizabeth. But the country soon began to take the alarm; and wherever they turned, they found a superior force ready to oppose them. In this exigence, beset on all sides, they resolved, to about the number of eighty persons, to fly no farther, but make a stand at a house in Warwickshire, to defend it to the last, and sell their lives as dearly as possible. But even this miserable consolation was denied them: a spark of fire happening to fall among some gun-powder that was laid to dry, it blew up, and so maimed the principal conspirators, that the survivors resolved to open the gate, and sally out against the multitude that surrounded the house. Some were instantly cut to pieces; Catesby, Percy, and Winter, standing back to back, fought long and desperately, till in the

end the two first fell covered with wounds, and Winter was taken alive. Those that survived the slaughter were tried and convicted; several fell by the hands of the executioner, and others experienced the king's mercy. The Jesuits, Garnet and Oldcorn, who were privy to the plot, suffered with the rest; and, notwithstanding the atrociousness of their treason, Garnet was considered by his party as a martyr, and miracles were said to have been wrought by his blood.

Such was the end of a conspiracy that brought ruin on its contrivers, and utterly supplanted that religion it was intended to establish. Yet it is remarkable, that, before this audacious attempt, the conspirators had always borne a fair reputation; Catesby was loved by all his acquaintance, and Digby was as highly respected both for his honour and integrity as any man in the nation. However, such are the lengths that superstition and early prejudice can drive minds originally well formed, but impressed by a wrong direction.

The king's moderation, after the extinction of this conspiracy, was as great as his penetration in the prevention of it. The hatred excited in the nation against the catholics knew no bounds; and nothing but a total extinction of those who adhered to that persuasion seemed capable of satisfying the greater part of the people. James bravely rejected all violent measures, and nobly declared that the late conspiracy, however atrocious, should never alter his plans of government; but as, on the one hand, he was determined to punish guilt, so, on the other, he would still support and protect innocence.

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This moderation was at that time no way pleasing to the people; and the malignant part of his subjects were willing to ascribe this lenity to the papists, to his being himself tinctured with their superstitions. However this be, he still found his parliaments refractory to all the measures he took to support his authority at home, or his desire of peace with foreign states. His speeches indeed betrayed no want of resolution to defend his rights; but his liberality to his favourites, and the insufficiency of his finances to maintain the royal dignity, still rendered him dependent upon his parliament for money, and they took care to keep him in indigence. Thus he was often forced into concessions, which, when once granted, could never be recalled; and, while he supposed himself maintaining the royal prerogative, it was diminishing on every side.

It was, perhaps, the opposition which James met with from his people, that made him place his affections upon different persons about the court, whom he rewarded with a liberality that bordered on profusion. The death of young prince Henry, his eldest son, which happened at this time, a youth of great hopes, gave him A. D. 1612. no very great uneasiness, as his affections were rather taken up by newer connections. In the first rank of these stood Robert Carre, a youth of a good family in Scotland, who, after having passed some time in his travels, arrived in London, at about twenty years of age. All his natural accomplishments consisted in a pleasing visage; all his acquired abilities, in an easy and graceful demeanour. This youth came to England with letters of recommendation, to see his countryman, lord Hay; and that nobleman

took an opportunity of assigning him the office of presenting the king his buckler at a match of tilting. When Carre was advancing to execute his office, he was thrown by his horse, and his leg was broke in the king's presence. James approached him with pity and concern, and ordered him to be lodged in the palace till his cure was completed. He himself, after tilting, paid him a visit in his chamber, and returned frequently during his confinement. The ignorance and simplicity of the youth confirmed the king's affections, as he disregarded learning in his favourites, of which he found but very little use in his own practice. Carre was therefore soon considered as the most rising man at court: he was knighted, created viscount Rochester, honoured with the order of the Garter, made a privy-counsellor; and, to raise him to the highest pitch of honour, he was at last created earl of Somerset.

This was an advancement which some regarded with envy; but the wiser part of mankind looked upon it with contempt and ridicule, sensible that ungrounded attachments are seldom of long continuance. Nor was it long before the favourite gave proofs of his being unworthy the place he held in the king's affections. Among the friends whom he consulted at court, was sir Thomas Overbury, a man of great abilities and learning; among the mistresses whom he addressed, was the young countess of Essex, whose husband had been sent by the king's command to travel, until the young couple should be arrived at the age of puberty. But the assiduities of a man of such personal accomplishments as the favourite were too powerful to be resisted; a criminal

criminal correspondence was commenced between the countess and the earl; and Essex, upon his return from his travels, found his wife beautiful and lovely indeed, but her affections entirely placed upon another. But this was not all; not contented with denying him all the rights of a husband, she was resolved to procure a divorce, and then to marry the favourite to whom she had granted her heart. It was upon this occasion that Overbury was consulted by his friend, and that this honest counsellor declared himself utterly averse to the match. He described the countess as an infamous and abandoned woman; and went so far as to threaten the earl that he would separate himself from him for ever, if he could so far forget his honour and his interest as to prosecute the intended marriage. The consequence of this advice was fatal to the giver. The countess being made acquainted with his expostulations, urged her lover to undo him. In consequence of this command, the king was persuaded by the favourite to order Overbury on an embassy into Russia; Overbury was persuaded by the same adviser to refuse going; the delinquent was shut up in the Tower, and there he was poisoned, by the direction of the countess, in a tart.

In the mean time, the divorce, which had been with some difficulty procured, took place, and the marriage of the favourite was solemnised with all imaginable splendor. But the suspicion of Overbury's being poisoned every day grew stronger, and reached the favourite, amidst all the glare and splendor of seeming happiness and success. The graces of his youth gradually disappeared; the gaiety of his manners was con-

converted into sullen silence; and the king, whose affections had been engaged by these superficial accomplishments, began to cool to a man who no longer contributed to his amusement. But the adoption of another favourite, and the discovery of Somerset's guilt, soon removed all remains of affection which the king might still harbour for him.

An apothecary's apprentice, who had been employed in making up the poison, having retired to Flushing, divulged the secret there; and the affair being thus laid before the king, he commanded sir Edward Coke, lord chief justice, to sift the affair to the bottom, with rigorous impartiality. This injunction was executed with great industry and severity; and the whole complication of their guilt was carefully unravelled. The lieutenant of the Tower, with some of the lesser criminals, were condemned and executed; Somerset and his countess were soon after found guilty, but reprieved and pardoned, after some years of strict confinement. The king's duplicity and injustice on this occasion are urged as very great stains upon his character. Somerset was in his presence at the time the officer of justice came to apprehend him; and boldly reprehended that minister's presumption for daring to arrest a peer of the realm before the king. But James, being informed of the cause, said with a smile, "Nay, nay, you must go; for if "Coke should send for myself, I must comply." He then embraced him at parting, begged he would return immediately, and assured him he could not live without his company; yet he had no sooner turned his back, than he exclaimed, "Go! and the devil go with thee! I shall never

"see

"see thy face again." He was also heard to wish, some time after, that God's curse might fall upon him and his family, if he should pardon those whom the law should condemn. However, he afterwards restored them both to liberty, and granted them a pension, with which they retired, and languished out the remainder of their lives in guilt, infamy, and mutual recrimination.

But the king had not been so improvident as to part with one favourite until he had provided himself with another. This was George Villiers, a youth of one and twenty, a younger brother of a good family, who was returned about that time from his travels, and whom the enemies of Somerset had taken occasion to throw in the king's way, certain that his beauty and fashionable manners would do the rest. Accordingly he had been placed in a comedy full in the king's view, and immediately caught the monarch's affections. The history of these times, which appears not without some degree of malignity against this monarch, does not however insinuate any thing flagitious in these connections, but imputes his attachment rather to a weakness of understanding than to any perversion of appetite. Villiers was immediately taken into the king's service, and the office of cup-bearer was bestowed upon him. It was in vain that Somerset had used all his interest to depress him; his stern jealousy only served the more to interest the king in the young man's behalf.

But after Somerset's fall, the favour of James was wholly turned upon young Villiers; in the course of a few years he created him viscount Villiers, earl, marquis, and duke of Buckingham, knight of the garter, master of the horse, chief

chief justice in eyre, warden of the cinque ports, master of the king's-bench office, steward of Westminster, constable of Windsor, and lord high-admiral of England. His mother obtained the title of countess of Buckingham; his brother was created viscount Purbeck; and a numerous train of needy relations were all pushed up into credit and authority. It may, indeed, be reckoned among the most capricious circumstances of this monarch's reign, that he, who was bred a scholar, should chuse for his favourites the most illiterate persons about his court; that he, whose personal courage was greatly suspected, should lavish his honours upon those whose only accomplishments were a skill in the warlike exercises of the times.

When unworthy favourites were thus advanced, it is not to be wondered at if the public concerns of the kingdom were neglected, and men of real merit left to contempt and misery. Yet such was the case at present, with regard to the cautionary towns in Holland, and the brave sir Walter Raleigh at home.

In the preceding reign, Elizabeth, when she gave assistance to the Dutch, at that time shaking off the Spanish yoke, was not so disinterested upon her lending them large sums of money, as not to require a proper deposit for being repaid. The Dutch, therefore, put into her hands the three important fortresses of Flushing, Brille, and Ramekins, which were to be restored upon payment of the money due, which amounted in the whole to above eight hundred thousand pounds. But James, in his present exigence, having to supply a needy favourite, and a craving court, agreed to evacuate these fortresses, upon being

being paid a third part of the money which was strictly due. The cautionary towns were evacuated, which had held the states in total subjection, and which an ambitious or enterprising prince would have regarded as his most valuable possessions.

The universal murmur which this impolitic measure produced was soon after heightened by an act of severity which still continues as the blackest stain upon this monarch's memory. The brave and learned Raleigh had been confined in the Tower almost from the beginning of James's accession, for a conspiracy which had never been proved against him; and in that abode of wretchedness he wrote several valuable performances, which are still in the highest esteem. His long sufferings, and his ingenious writings, had now turned the tide of popular opinion in his favour; and they who once detested the enemy of Essex, could not help pitying the long captivity of this philosophical soldier. He himself still struggled for freedom; and perhaps it was with this desire that he spread the report of his having discovered a gold mine in Guiana, which was sufficient to enrich, not only the adventurers that should seize it, but afford immense treasures to the nation. The king, either believing his assertions, or willing to subject him to further disgrace, granted him a commission to try his fortune in quest of these golden schemes; but still reserved his former sentence as a check upon his future behaviour.

Raleigh was not long in making preparations for this adventure, which, from the sanguine manner in which he carried it on, many believed he thought to be as promising as he described it.

it. He bent his course to Guiana, and remaining himself at the mouth of the river Oroonoko with five of the largest ships, he sent the rest up the stream, under the command of his son and of captain Keymis, a person entirely devoted to his interests. But instead of a country abounding in gold, as the adventurers were taught to expect, they found the Spaniards had been warned of their approach, and were prepared in arms to receive them. Young Raleigh, to encourage his men, called out that "This was the true "mine," meaning the town of St. Thomas, which he was approaching; "and that none but "fools looked for any other:" but just as he was speaking, he received a shot, of which he immediately expired. This was followed by another disappointment: for when the English took possession of the town, they found nothing in it of any value.

It was Keymis who pretended that he had seen the mine, and gave the first account of it to Raleigh: but he now began to retract; and though he was within two hours march of the place, he refused, on the most absurd pretences, to take any effectual step towards finding it. He returned, therefore, to Raleigh with the melancholy news of his son's death; and then going into his cabin, put an end to his own life in despair.

Raleigh, in this forlorn situation, found now that all his hopes were over; but saw his misfortunes still farther aggravated by the reproaches of those whom he had undertaken to command. Nothing could be more deplorable than his situation, particularly when he was told that he must be carried back to England to answer for his con-

duct to the king. It is pretended that he employed many artifices, first to engage them to attack the Spanish settlements at a time of peace; and failing of that, to make his escape into France. But all these proving unsuccessful, he was delivered into the king's hands, and strictly examined, as well as his fellow-adventurers, before the privy council. Count Gondemar, the Spanish embassador, made heavy complaints against the expedition; and the king declared that Raleigh had express orders to avoid all disputes and hostilities against the Spaniards. Wherefore, to give the court of Spain a particular instance of his attachment, he signed the warrant for his execution, not for the present offence, but for his former conspiracy. Thus showing himself guilty of complicated injustice; unjust in originally having condemned him without proof; unjust in having trusted a man with a commission, without a pardon expressive of that confidence; unjust in punishing with death a transgression that did not deserve it; but most unjust of all, when he refused a new trial, but condemned him upon an obsolete sentence. This great man died with the same fortitude that he had testified through life; he observed, as he felt the edge of the axe, that it was a sharp but a sure remedy for all evils; his harangue to the people was calm and eloquent; and he laid his head down on the block with the utmost indifference. His death insured him that popularity which his former intrepidity and his sufferings, so much greater than his crimes, had tended to procure him; and no measure in this reign was attended with so much public dissatisfaction. The death of this great man was soon after

followed

followed by the disgrace of a still greater, namely, the chancellor Bacon, who was accused of receiving bribes in his office; and, pleading guilty, was degraded and fined thirty thousand pounds; but his fine was afterwards remitted by the king.

A. D. 1618. But there soon appeared very apparent reasons for James's partiality to the court of Spain in the case of Raleigh. This monarch had entertained an opinion, which was peculiar to himself, that in marrying his son Charles, the prince of Wales, any alliance below that of royalty would be unworthy of him; he therefore was obliged to seek, either in the court of France or Spain, a suitable match, and he was taught to think of the latter. Gondemar, who was embassador from that court, perceiving this weak monarch's partiality to a crowned head, made an offer of the second daughter of Spain to prince Charles: and that he might render the temptation irresistible, he gave hopes of an immense fortune which should attend the princess. However, this was a negotiation that was not likely soon to be concluded; and from the time the idea was first started, James saw five years elapse without bringing the treaty to any kind of conclusion.

A delay of this kind was very displeasing to the king, who had all along an eye on the great fortune of the princess; nor was it less disagreeable to prince Charles, who, bred up with ideas of romantic passion, was in love without ever seeing the object of his affections. In this general tedium of delay, a project entered the head of Villiers, who had for some years ruled the king with absolute authority, that was fitter to be conceived by the knight of a romance, than

than by a minister and a statesman. It was nothing less than that the prince should himself travel in disguise into Spain, and visit the object of his affections in person. Buckingham, who wanted to ingratiate himself with the prince, offered to be his companion; and the king, whose business it was to check so wild a scheme, gave his consent to this hopeful proposal. Their adventures on this strange project could fill novels, and have actually been made the subject of many. Charles was the knight-errant, and Buckingham was his 'squire. They travelled through France in disguise, assuming the names of Jack and Tom Smith. They went to a ball at Paris, where the prince first saw the princess Henrietta, whom he afterwards married, and who was then in the bloom of youth and beauty. They were received at the court of Spain with all possible demonstrations of respect; but Buckingham filled the whole city with intrigues, adventures, serenades, challenges, and jealousy. To complete the catalogue of his follies, he fell in love with the duchess of Olivarez, the prime minister's wife, and insulted that minister in person. These levities were not to be endured at such a court as that of Spain, where jealousy is so prevalent, and decorum so much observed; the match was therefore broke off; for what reason historians do not assign; but if we may credit the novelists of that time, the prince had already fixed his affections upon the French princess.

In fact, a match for this prince was soon after negotiated with Henrietta, who was the daughter of the great Henry the Fourth; and this met with much better success than the

former. However, the king had not the same allurements in prosecuting this match as the former, as the portion promised him was much smaller; but, willing that his son should not be altogether disappointed of a bride, as the king of France demanded only the same terms which had been offered to the court of Spain, James consented to comply. In an article of his treaty of marriage, it was stipulated that the education of the children, till the age of thirteen, should belong to the mother; and this probably gave that turn towards popery, which has since been the ruin of that unfortunate family.

Indeed a variety of causes seemed to conspire, together with their own imprudence, to bring down upon them those evils which they afterwards experienced. The house of commons was by this time become quite unmanageable; the prodigality of James to his favourites had made his necessities so many, that he was contented to sell the different branches of his prerogative to the commons, one after the other, to procure supplies. In proportion as they perceived his wants, they found out new grievances; and every grant of money was sure to come with a petition for redress. The struggles between him and his parliament had been growing more and more violent every session; and the last advanced their pretensions to such a degree, that he began to take the alarm; but these evils fell upon the successor, which the weakness of this monarch had contributed to give birth to.

These domestic troubles were attended by others still more important in Germany, and which produced in the end the most dangerous effects,

effects. The king's eldest daughter had been married to Frederic, the elector palatine of Germany; and this prince, revolting against the emperor Ferdinand the Second, was defeated in a decisive battle, and obliged to take refuge in Holland. His affinity to the English crown, his misfortunes, but particularly the protestant religion for which he had contended, were strong motives for the people of England to wish well to his cause; and frequent addresses were sent from the commons to spur up James to take a part in the German contest, and to replace the exiled prince upon the throne of his ancestors. James at first attempted to ward off the misfortunes of his son-in-law by negotiations; but A. D. 1620. these proving utterly ineffectual, it was resolved at last to rescue the Palatinate from the emperor, by force of arms. Accordingly war was declared against Spain and the emperor; six thousand men were sent over into Holland, to assist prince Maurice in his schemes against those powers; the people were every where elated at the courage of their king, and were satisfied with any war which was to exterminate the papists. This army was followed by another consisting of twelve thousand men, commanded by count Mansfeldt; and the court of France promised its assistance. But the English were disappointed in all their views; the troops being embarked at Dover, upon sailing to Calais, they found no orders for their admission. After waiting in vain for some time, they were obliged to sail towards Zealand, where no proper measures were yet consulted for their disembarkation. Meanwhile a pestilential distemper crept in among the forces, so long cooped up in narrow vessels;

half the army died while on board, and the other half, weakened by sickness, appeared too small a body to march into the Palatinate; and thus ended this ill-concerted and fruitless expedition.

Whether this misfortune had any effect upon the constitution of the king, is uncertain; but
A. D. 1625. he was soon after seized with a tertian ague, which, when his courtiers assured him from the proverb that it was health for a king, he replied, that the proverb was meant for a young king. After some fits, he found himself extremely weakened, ond sent for the prince, whom he exhorted to persevere in the protestant religion; then preparing with decency and courage to meet his end, he expired, after a reign over England of twenty-two years, and in the fifty-ninth year of his age. With regard to foreign negotiations, James neither understood nor cultivated them; and perhaps in a kingdom so situated as England, domestic politics are alone sufficient. His reign was marked with none of the splendors of triumph, nor no new conquests or acquisitions; but the arts were nevertheless silently and successfully going on to improvement. Reason was extending her influence, and discovering to mankind a thousand errors in religion, in morals, and in government, that had long been reverenced by blind submission. The Reformation had produced a spirit of liberty, as well as of investigation, among all ranks of mankind, and taught them that no precedents could sanctify fraud, tyranny, or injustice. James taught them by his own example to argue upon the nature of the king's prerogative, and the extent of the subjects' liberty. He first began by

by setting up the prescriptive authority of kings against the natural privileges of the people; but when the subject was submitted to a controversy, it was soon seen that the monarch's was the weakest side.





CHAP. XXIX.

CHARLES I.

A.D. 1625. FEW princes have ascended a throne with more apparent advantages than Charles; and none ever encountered more real difficulties. The advantages were such as might flatter even the most cautious prince into security; the difficulties were such as no abilities could surmount. He found himself, upon coming to the crown, possessed of a peaceful and flourishing kingdom, his right undisputed by all the world, his power strengthened by an alliance with one of the most potent nations in Europe, his absolute authority tacitly acknowledged by one part of his subjects, and

and enforced from the pulpit by the rest. To add to all this, he was loved by his people, whose hearts he had gained by his virtues, his humility, and his candour.

But on the opposite side of the picture we are presented with a very different scene. Men had begun to think on the different rights of mankind, and found that all had an equal claim to the inestimable blessings of freedom. The spirit of liberty was roused; and it was resolved to oppose the ancient claims of monarchs, who usurped their power in times of ignorance or danger, and who pleaded in succeeding times their former depredations as prescriptive privileges. Charles had been taught from his infancy to consider the royal prerogative as a sacred pledge, which it was not in his power to alienate, much less his duty to abridge. His father, who had contributed so much to sink the claims of the crown, had, nevertheless, boldly defended them in his writings, and taught his son to defend by the sword what he had only inculcated by the press. Charles, though a prince of tolerable understanding, had not comprehension enough to see that the genius and disposition of his people had received a total change; he resolved therefore to govern by old maxims and precedents a people who had lately found out these maxims were established in times of ignorance and slavery.

In the foregoing reigns, I have given very little of the parliamentary history of the times, which would have led me out of the way; but in the present it will be fit to point out the transactions of every parliament, as they make the principal figure in this remarkable æra, in which we see

genius and courage united in opposing injustice, seconded by custom, and backed by power.

Charles undertook the reins of government with a fixed persuasion that his popularity was sufficient to carry every measure. He had been loaded with a treaty for defending the Palatinate in the late reign; and the war declared for that purpose was to be carried on with vigour in this. But war was more easily declared than supplies granted. After some reluctance, the commons voted him two subsidies; a sum far from being sufficient to support him in his intended equipment, to assist his brother-in-law; and to this was added a petition for punishing papists, and redressing the grievances of the nation. Buckingham, who had been the late king's favourite, and who was still more caressed by the present monarch, did not escape their censures; so that, instead of granting the sums requisite, they employed the time in disputations and complaints, till the season for prosecuting the intended campaign was elapsed. Charles, therefore, wearied with their delays, and offended at the refusal of his demands, thought proper to dissolve a parliament which he could not bring to reason.

To supply the want of parliamentary aids, Charles had recourse to some of the ancient methods of extortion, practised by sovereigns when in necessitous circumstances. That kind of tax called a benevolence was ordered to be exacted, and privy-seals were issued accordingly. In order to cover the rigour of this step, it was commanded that none should be asked for money but such as were able to spare it; and he directed letters to different persons, mentioning the sums he desired. With this the people were obliged,

obliged, though reluctantly, to comply; it was in fact authorised by many precedents; but no precedents whatsoever could give a sanction to injustice.

With this money, a fleet was equipped against Spain, carrying ten thousand men; the command of which army was entrusted to lord Wimbleton, who sailed directly to Cadiz, and found the bay full of ships of great value. But he failed in making himself master of the harbour, while his undisciplined army landing, instead of attacking the town, could not be restrained from indulging themselves in the wine, which they found in great abundance on shore. Farther stay therefore appeared fruitless; they were re-imbarked; and the plague attacking the fleet soon afterwards, they were obliged to abandon all hopes of success, and return to England. Loud complaints were made against the court, for intrusting so important a command to a person who was judged so unqualified for the undertaking.

This ineffectual expedition was a great blow to the court: and to retrieve the glory of the nation, another attempt was to be made, but with a more certain prospect of success. New supplies therefore being requisite, the king was resolved to obtain them in a more regular and constitutional manner than before. Another parliament was accordingly called; and though some steps were taken to exclude the more popular leaders of the last house of commons, by nominating them as sheriffs of counties, yet the present parliament seemed more refractory than the former. When the king laid before the house his necessities, and asked for a supply, they

they voted him only three subsidies, which amounted to about a hundred and sixty thousand pounds, a sum no way adequate to the importance of the war, or the necessities of the state. But even this was not to be granted until the grievances of the state were redressed. Their chief indignation was levelled against Buckingham, a minister who had no real merit, and the great infelicity of being the king's favourite. Whenever the subjects resolve to attack the royal prerogative, they begin with the favourites of the crown, and wise monarchs seldom have any. Charles was not possessed of the art of making a distinction between friends and ministers; and whoever was his friend was always trusted with the administration of his affairs. He loved Buckingham, and undertook to protect him; although to defend a person so obnoxious to the people, was to share his reproach. The commons undertook to impeach him in the lower house, while the earl of Bristol, who had returned from his embassy in Spain, accused him among his peers. The purport of the charge against him amounted to little more than that he had engrossed too much power for himself and his relations; that he had neglected to guard the seas with the fleet; and that he had applied a plaster to the late king's side, which was supposed to be poisonous, and to hasten his end. These frivolous accusations must have sunk of themselves, had they not been intemperately opposed by the royal authority. The king gave orders to the lord-keeper to command the commons expressly in his name not to meddle with his minister and servant Buckingham. The more to enrage them, he had him elected chancellor

cellor of the university of Cambridge, and wrote that body a letter of thanks for their compliance. He assured the commons that if they would not comply with his demands, he would try *new councils*. But what justly enraged them beyond all sufferance, was, when two of their members, sir Dudley Digges and sir John Elliot, complained of this partiality in favour of a man odious to the nation, the king ordered both to be committed to prison for seditious behaviour. This was an open act of violence, and should have been supported, or never attempted.

It was now that the commons justly exclaimed that their privileges were infringed, and all freedom of debate destroyed. They protested in the most solemn manner, that neither of their members had said any thing disrespectful of the king; and they made preparations for publishing their vindication. The king, whose character it was to show a readiness to undertake harsh measures, but not to support them, released the two members; and this compliance confirmed that obstinacy in the house which his injuries had contributed to give rise to. The earl of Arundel, for being guilty of the same offence in the house of lords, was rashly imprisoned, and as tamely dismissed by the king. Thus the two houses having refused to answer the intentions of the court without previous conditions, the king, rather than give up his favourite, chose to be without the supply, and therefore once more dissolved the parliament.

The new councils which Charles had mentioned to the parliament were now to be tried, in order to supply his necessities. Instead of making peace with Spain, and thus trying to abridge his

his expenses, since he could not enlarge his income, he resolved to carry on the war, and to keep up a standing army for this purpose. Perhaps also he had further views in keeping this army in pay; which was to seise upon the liberty of his subjects, when he found matters ripe for the execution. But at present his forces were new levied, ill paid, and worse disciplined; so that the militia of the country, that could be instantly led out against him, were far his superiors. In order, therefore, to gain time and money, a commission was openly granted to compound with the catholics, and agree for a dispensation of the penal laws against them. He borrowed a sum of money from the nobility, whose contributions came in but slowly. But the greatest stretch of his power was in the levying of *ship-money*. In order to equip a fleet (at least this was the pretence made), each of the maritime towns was required, with the assistance of the adjacent counties, to arm as many vessels as were appointed them. The city of London was rated at twenty ships. This was the commencement of a tax, which afterwards, being carried to very violent lengths, created such great discontents in the nation. But the extortions of the ministry did not rest here. Persons of birth and rank, who refused the loan, were summoned before the council; and upon persisting in a refusal, were put into confinement. Thus we see here, as in every civil war, something to blame on one side and the other; both sides guilty of injustice, yet either in general actuated by motives of virtue; the one contending for the inherent liberties of mankind, the other for the prescriptive privileges of the crown; both

both driven to all the extremes of falsehood, rapine, and injustice, and, by a fate attendant on humanity, permitting their actions to degenerate from the motives which first set them in motion.

Hitherto the will of the monarch was reluctantly obeyed: most of those who refused to lend their money were thrown into prison, and patiently submitted to confinement, or applied by petition to the king for their release. Five persons alone undertook to defend the cause of the public; and, at the hazard of their whole fortunes, were resolved to try whether the king legally had a right to confine their persons without an infringement of any law. The names of these patriots were sir Thomas Darnel, sir John Corbet, sir Walter Earl, sir John Haveningham, and sir Edward Hambden. Their cause was brought to a solemn trial before the King's Bench, and the whole kingdom was attentive to the result of so important a trial.

By the debates on this subject it appeared that personal liberty had been secured by no less than six different statutes, and by an article of the Great Charter itself; that in times of turbulence and sedition, the princes infringed upon those laws; and of this also many examples were produced. The difficulty then lay to determine when such violent measures were expedient; but of that the court pretended to be the supreme judge. As it was legal, therefore, that these five gentlemen should plead the statute, by which they might demand bail, so it was expedient in the court to remand them to prison, without determining on the necessity of taking bail for the present. This was a cruel evasion of justice, and, Nov. 1626.

and, in fact, satisfied neither the court nor the country party. The court insisted that no bail could be taken: the country exclaimed that the prisoners should be set free.

The king being thus embroiled with his parliament, his people, and some of the most powerful foreign states, it was not without amazement that all men saw him enter into a war with France, a kingdom with which he had but lately formed the most natural alliance. This monarch, among the foibles of a good disposition, relied too much on the sincerity of his servants; and, among others, permitted Buckingham to lead him as he thought proper. All historians agree that this minister had conceived hopes of gaining the heart of the queen of France, while, at the same time, cardinal Richelieu aspired to the same honour. The rivalry of these favourites produced an inveterate enmity between them; and, from a private quarrel, they resolved to involve their respective nations in the dispute. However this be, war was declared against France; and Charles was taught to hope, that hostilities with that kingdom would be the surest means of producing unanimity at home.

But fortune seemed to counteract all this monarch's attempts. A fleet was sent out, under the command of Buckingham, to relieve Rochelle, a maritime town in France, that had long enjoyed its privileges independent of the French king, but that had for some years embraced the reformed religion, and now was besieged by a formidable army. This expedition was as unfortunate as that on the coast of Spain. The duke's measures were so ill concerted, that the inhabitants of the city shut their gates,

gates, and refused to admit allies, of whose coming they were not previously informed. Instead of attacking the island of Oleron, which was fertile and defenceless, he bent his course to the isle of Rhé, which was garrisoned, and well fortified. He attempted there to starve out the garrison of St. Martin's castle, which was copiously supplied with provisions by sea. By that time the French had landed their forces privately at another part of the island; so that Buckingham was at last obliged to retreat, but with such precipitation, that two-thirds of his army were cut to pieces before he could re-imbark, though he was the last man of the whole army that quitted the shore. This proof of his personal courage, however, was but a small subject of consolation for the disgrace which his country had sustained; and his own person would have been the last they would have regretted.

The bad success of this expedition served to render the duke still more obnoxious, and the king more needy. He therefore resolved to call a third parliament; for money was to be had at any rate. In his first speech, he told them they were convoked on purpose to grant the supplies; and that if they should neglect to contribute what was necessary for the support of the state, he would, in discharge of his conscience, use those means which God had put into his hands, for saving that which the folly of certain persons would otherwise endanger. But the king did not find his commons intimidated by his threats, nor by those of the lord-keeper, who commented upon what he said. They boldly inveighed against his late arbitrary measures, forced loans, benevolences, taxes without consent of par-

parliament, arbitrary imprisonments, billeting soldiers, martial laws; these were the grievances complained of, and against these they insisted that an eternal remedy should be provided. An immunity from these vexations they alleged to be the inherent right of the subject; and their new demands they resolved to call a petition of right as implying privileges they had already
A.D. 1628. been possessed of. Nothing could be more just than the enacting the contents of this petition of right into a law. The Great Charter, and the old statutes, were sufficiently clear in favour of liberty; but as all the kings of England had ever, in cases of necessity or expediency, been accustomed at intervals to elude them; and as Charles, in a complication of instances, had lately violated them; it was but requisite to enact a new law, which might not be eluded or violated by any authority, or any former precedent to the contrary.

But though this was an equitable proposal, and though the ready compliance with it might have prevented many of the disorders that were about to ensue, Charles was taught to consider it as the most violent encroachment on his prerogative, and used at first every method to obstruct its progress. When he found that nothing but his assent would satisfy the house, he gave it; but at first in such an ambiguous manner as left him still in possession of his former power. At length, however, to avoid their indignation, and still more to screen his favourite Buckingham, he thought proper to give them full satisfaction. He came therefore to the house of peers, and pronouncing the usual form of words, "*Soit "comme il est desiré*, Let it be law as it is desired," he

he gave the petition of right all the sanction that was necessary to pass it into a law. The acclamations with which the house resounded, sufficiently testified the joy of the people; and a bill for five subsidies, which passed soon after, was the strongest mark of their gratitude.

But the commons, finding their perseverance crowned with success in this instance, were resolved to carry the scrutiny into every part of government which they considered as defective. The leaders of the house of commons at this time were very different from those illiterate barbarians who, a century or two before, came up to the capital, not to grant supplies, but to consider where supplies were to be procured; not to debate as legislators, but to receive commands as inferiors. The men of whom the present parliaments were composed, were persons of great knowledge and extensive learning; of undaunted courage and inflexible perseverance.

A little before the meeting of this parliament, a commission had been granted to thirty-three of the principal officers of state, empowering them to meet and concert among themselves the methods of levying money by impositions, or otherwise. The commons applied for cancelling that commission; and indeed the late statute of the petition of rights seemed to render such a commission entirely unnecessary. They objected to another commission for raising money for the introduction of a thousand German horse, which, with just reason, they feared might be turned against the liberties of the people. They resumed also their censure of Buckingham, whom they resolved implacably to pursue. They also openly asserted, that the method of levying money,

used by the king, called tonnage and poundage, without the consent of parliament, was a palpable violation of all the liberties of the people. All these grievances were preparing to be drawn up in a remonstrance to his majesty, when the king, hearing of their intentions, came suddenly to the house, and ended the session by a prorogation.

But they were not so easily to be intimidated in their schemes for the liberty of the people. They urged their claims with still more force on their next sitting; and the duty of tonnage and poundage was discussed with greater precision than before. This tax upon merchandise was a duty of very early institution, and had been conferred on Henry the Fifth, and all succeeding princes, during life, in order to enable them to maintain a naval force for the protection of the kingdom. But the parliament had usually granted it as of their special favour, in the beginning of each reign, except to Henry the Eighth, who had it not conferred on him by parliament till the sixth year of his sitting on the throne. Although he had continued to receive it from the beginning, yet he thought it necessary to have the sanction of parliament to insure it to him, which certainly implied that it was not an inherent privilege of the crown. Upon this argument, the commons founded their objections to the levying it in the present reign; it was a tax they had not yet granted, and it had been granted by them in every preceding reign. They refused, therefore, to grant it now; and insisted that the king could not levy it without their permission.

This bred a long contest, as may be supposed, between

between the commons and the crown. The officers of the custom-house were summoned before the commons, to give an account by what authority they seized the goods of the merchants who had refused to pay these duties. The barons of the Exchequer were questioned concerning their decrees on that head; the sheriff of London was committed to the Tower for his activity in supporting the custom-house officers. These were bold measures; but the commons went still farther, by a resolution to examine into religious grievances; and a new spirit of intolerance began to appear. The king, therefore, resolved to dissolve a parliament which he found himself unable to manage; and sir John Finch, the speaker, just as the question concerning tonnage and poundage was going to be put, rose up, and informed the house that he had a command from the king to adjourn. A.D. 1629.

Nothing could exceed the consternation and indignation of the commons upon this information. Just at the time they were carrying their most favourite points to a bearing, to be thus adjourned, and the parliament dissolved, rendered them furious. The house was in an uproar; the speaker was pushed back into his chair, and forcibly held in it by Hollis and Valentine, till a short remonstrance was framed, and passed by acclamation rather than vote. In this hasty production, Papists and Arminians were declared capital enemies to the state; tonnage and poundage was condemned as contrary to law; and not only those who raised that duty, but those who paid it, were considered as guilty of capital crimes.

In consequence of this violent procedure, sir

Miles Hobart, sir Peter Hayman, Selden, Coriton, Long, and Strode, were, by the king's order, committed to prison, under pretence of sedition. But the same temerity that impelled Charles to imprison them, induced him to grant them a release. Sir John Elliot, Hollis, and Valentine, were summoned before the King's Bench; but they refusing to appear before an inferior tribunal, for faults committed in a superior, were condemned to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, to pay a fine, the two former of a thousand pounds each, and the latter of five hundred, and to find sureties for their good behaviour. The members triumphed in their sufferings, while they had the whole kingdom as spectators and applauders of their fortitude.

In the mean time, while the king was thus distressed by the obstinacy of the commons, he felt a much severer blow in the death of his favourite, the duke of Buckingham, who fell a sacrifice to his unpopularity. It had been resolved once more to undertake the raising of the siege of Rochelle; and the earl of Denbigh, brother-in-law to Buckingham, was sent thither, but returned without effecting any thing. In order to repair this disgrace, the duke of Buckingham went in person to Portsmouth, to hurry on another expedition, and to punish such as had endeavoured to defraud the crown of the legal assessments. In the general discontent that prevailed against this nobleman, it was daily expected that some severe measures would be resolved on; and he was stigmatised as the tyrant and the betrayer of his country. There was one Felton, who caught the general contagion,—an Irish-

Irishman, of a good family, who had served under the duke as lieutenant, but had resigned on being refused his rank on the death of his captain, who had been killed at the isle of Rhé. This man was naturally melancholy, courageous, and enthusiastic; he felt for his country, as if labouring under a calamity which he thought it in the power of his single arm to remove. He therefore resolved to kill the duke, and thus revenge his own private injuries, while he did service also to God and man. Animated in this manner with gloomy zeal and mistaken patriotism, he travelled down to Portsmouth alone, and entered the town while the duke was surrounded by his levee, and giving out the necessary orders for embarkation. He was at that time engaged in conversation with one Soubize, and other French gentlemen; and a difference of sentiments having arisen in the conference, it was attended with all those violent gesticulations with which foreigners generally enforce their meaning. The conversation being finished, the duke drew towards the door; and while he was speaking to one of his colonels, Felton struck him over that officer's shoulder in the breast with his knife. The duke had only time to say, "The villain has killed me," when he fell at the colonel's feet, and instantly expired. No one had seen the blow, nor the person who gave it; but in the confusion it was generally supposed that he was murdered by one of the Frenchmen who appeared so violent in their motions but a little before. They were accordingly secured, as for certain punishment; but in the mean time a hat was picked up, on the inside of which was sewed a paper containing four or five

lines of the remonstrance of the commons against the duke; and under these lines a short ejaculation, desiring aid in the attempt. It was now concluded that this hat must belong to the assassin; and while they were employed in conjectures whose it could be, a man without a hat was seen walking very composedly before the door, and was heard to cry out, "I am he." He disdained denying a murder in which he gloried; and averred that he looked upon the duke as an enemy to his country, and as such deserving to suffer. When asked at whose instigation he had performed that horrid deed? he answered, that they need not trouble themselves in that inquiry; that his conscience was his only prompter; and that no man on earth could dispose him to act against its dictates. He suffered with the same degree of constancy to the last; nor were there many wanting who admired not only his fortitude, but the action for which he suffered.

The king had always the highest regard for Buckingham, and was extremely mortified at his death; he began to perceive that the tide of popularity was entirely turned from him, and that the house of commons only served to increase the general discontent. He felt therefore a disgust against parliaments; and he was resolved not to call any more, till he should see greater indications of a compliant disposition in the nation. Having lost his favourite Buckingham, he became more his own minister, and never afterwards reposed such unlimited confidence in any other. But, though the minister of the crown was changed, the measures still continued the same; the same disregard to the

petitions

petitions of the people, the same desire of extending and supporting the prerogative, the same temerity, and the same weakness of condescension.

His first measure, however, now being left A. D. 1629. without a minister and a parliament, was a prudent one. He made peace with the two crowns against whom he had hitherto waged war, which had been entered upon without necessity, and conducted without glory. Being freed from these embarrassments, he bent his whole attention to the management of the internal policy of the kingdom, and took two men as his associates in this task, who still acted an under-part to himself. These were sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards created earl of Strafford; and Laud, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury.

Strafford, by his eminent talents and abilities, merited all the confidence which the king reposed in him. His character was stately and austere; more fitted to procure esteem than love; his fidelity to the king was unshaken; but in serving the interests of the crown, he did not consider himself as an agent also for the benefit of the people. As he now employed all his counsels to support the prerogative, which he formerly had endeavoured to diminish, his actions were liable to the imputation of self-interest and ambition; but his good character in private life made up for that seeming duplicity of public conduct.

Laud was in the church somewhat resembling Strafford in the state, rigid, severe, punctual, and industrious. His zeal was unrelenting in the cause of religion; and the forms, as established in the reign of queen Elizabeth, seemed essentially connected with it. His desire to keep

these on their former footing was imprudent and severe; but it must be confessed that the furious opposition he met with was sufficient to excite his resentment.

Since the times of Elizabeth, a new religious sect had been gaining ground in England; which, from the supposed greater purity of their manners, were called Puritans. Of all other sects, this was the most dangerous to monarchy; and the tenets of it more calculated to support that imagined equality which obtains in a state of nature. The partisans of this religion, being generally men of warm, obstinate tempers, pushed their sentiments into a total opposition to those of Rome; and in the countries where their opinions had taken place, not only a religious but a political freedom began to be established. All enthusiasts, indulging themselves in rapturous flights, extasies, visions, and inspirations, have a natural aversion to all ceremonies, rites, or forms, which are but external means of supplying that devotion which they want no prompter but their hearts to inspire. The same bold and daring spirit which accompanied them in their addresses to the divinity, appeared in their political speculations; and the principles of civil liberty, which had hitherto been almost totally unknown in Europe, began to shoot forth in this ungracious soil. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if kings and bishops were willing to suppress the growth of opinions so unfavourable to their authority; and that Laud, who, of all men alive, was the most attached to ceremony and show, should treat with rigour men who braved him into severity. The truth is, that, in the histories of the times, we find the great

great cause of the present contest between the king and his people to arise not from civil but religious motives; not from a desire on the one hand of extending power, and on the other of promoting liberty; but merely from the ardour of the king in supporting bishops, surplices, and other ceremonies of the church, and the fury of the puritans in abolishing those distinctions as remnants of popish idolatry. Those distinctions in religion, at this day, are regarded with more unconcern; and, therefore, we are more apt to impute the disorders of those times rather to civil motives of establishing liberty, which, in reality, made but a very subordinate consideration.

The humour of the nation ran, at that time, into the extreme opposite of superstition; and those ancient ceremonies, to which men had been accustomed in England, since the commencement of the Reformation, were in general considered as impious and idolatrous. It was, therefore, the most impolitic time in the world for Laud to think of introducing new ceremonies and observances, which could not fail of being treated with utter detestation. Nevertheless, he went on boldly with his injunctions for the observance of those rites which in themselves were of no moment, and were as unnecessary to be urged by him, as ridiculous in being opposed by the puritans.

Orders were given, and rigorously insisted on, that the communion-table should be removed from the middle of the church where it hitherto stood since the Reformation, to the east end; where it should be railed in and denominated the altar. The kneeling at the altar, and the using

using of copes (embroidered vestments used in popish countries), were introduced, to the great discontent of the people. Some pictures were again admitted into the churches by his command. All such clergy as neglected to observe every ceremony, were suspended, and deprived by the high commission-court. And to mortify the puritans still more, orders were issued from the council, forbidding any controversy, either from the pulpit or the press, on the points in dispute between them and their opponents, concerning free will and predestination. At the same time that he obtained the king's protection for carrying on these measures, he took care to repay the monarch by magnifying on every occasion the regal authority, and treating all pretensions to independence, as a puritanical innovation. The king's divine, hereditary, and indefeasible right, was the theme of every sermon; and those who attempted to question such doctrines, were considered as making an attack upon religion itself. The king, who had now taken a resolution of calling no more parliaments, and which resolution he adhered to for the space of eleven years after, was very well satisfied with these doctrines, as they were the only means of facilitating his measures of government, and procuring those pecuniary supplies which he had no legal means of obtaining.

While Laud, therefore, during this long interval, ruled the church, the king and Strafford undertook to manage the temporal interests of the nation. A proclamation was issued, in which Charles declared, "That whereas, for several "ill ends, the calling again of a parliament is "divulged; yet the late abuses, having for

"the

"the present, unwillingly driven him out of "that course, he will account it presumption "for any one to prescribe to him any time for "calling that assembly." This was generally construed as a declaration, that, during that reign, no more parliaments would be summoned; and every measure of the king but too well served to confirm the suspicion.

It was now that the people, without a defender, or hopes of redress, saw themselves at the mercy of a monarch, who, though good and gentle in his own nature, might at any time change in his conduct. They now saw the constitution at one blow wholly overthrown, and one branch of the legislature assuming those rights which had been divided between three. Tonnage and poundage were continued to be levied by royal authority alone: custom-house officers received orders from the council to enter any house whatever, in search of suspected goods; compositions were openly made with papists; and their religion was become a regular part of the revenue. The high-commission court of Star-chamber exercised its power, independent of any law, upon several bold innovators in liberty, who only gloried in their sufferings, and contributed to render government odious and contemptible. Sir David Foulis was fined by this court five thousand pounds, merely for dissuading a friend from compounding with the commissioners who called upon him to take up the title of knighthood. Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's inn, had written an enormous quarto of a thousand pages, which was intitled Histriomastix, or a Scourge for the Stage. In this, beside much paltry declamation against the stage, he

he took occasion to blame the ceremonies and late innovations of the church; and this was an offence that Laud was not likely to forgive. He was condemned by the Star-chamber to be degraded from the bar; to stand in the pillory, in two places, Westminster and Cheapside; to lose his ears, one at each place; to pay five thousand pounds to the king, and to be imprisoned during life. This sentence, which was equally cruel and unjust, was rigorously executed; and Prynne gloried in his sufferings. Burton, a divine, and Bastwick, a physician, were tried before this tribunal for schismatical libels, in which they attacked, with great severity and intemperate zeal, the ceremonies of the church of England. They were condemned to the same punishment that had been inflicted upon Prynne; and Prynne himself was also tried for a new offence, for which he was fined five thousand pounds more, and sentenced to lose the remainder of his ears. The answers which these bold demagogues gave into court, were so full of contumacy and invective that no lawyer could be prevailed with to sign them. The rigours, however, which they underwent, being so unworthy men of their profession, gave general offence; and the patience or rather alacrity with which they suffered increased still farther the public indignation.

The puritans, restrained in England, shipped themselves off for America, where they laid the foundations of a new government, agreeable to their systems of political freedom. But the government, unwilling that the nation should be deprived of its useful members, or dreading the unpopularity of these emigrations, was prevailed on to issue a proclamation, debarring these devotees

votees access even to those inhospitable regions. Eight ships, lying in the Thames, and ready to sail, were detained by order of council; and in these were embarked sir Arthur Hazelrig, John Hampden, and Oliver Cromwell, who had resolved for ever to abandon their native country. This may stand as a proof of the sincerity these men afterwards testified in the cause for which they fought; and is a clear proof that hypocrisy, with which they were charged in the beginning at least, was not among the motives of their opposition.

Every year, every month, every day, gave fresh instances, during this long intermission of parliaments, of the resolution of the court to throw them off for ever: but the levying of *ship-money*, as it was called, being a general burthen, was universally complained of as a national grievance. This was a tax which had, in former reigns, been levied without the consent of parliament; but then the exigency of the state demanded such a supply. As the necessity at present was not so apparent, and might excite murmurs among the people, a question was proposed by the king to the judges, whether, in a case of necessity, for the defence of the kingdom, he might not impose this tax? and whether he was not sole judge of this necessity? To this the judges replied that he might; and that he was sole judge of the necessity. In this universal appearance of obedience to the king's injunctions, John Hampden, a gentleman of fortune in Buckinghamshire, refused to comply with the tax, and resolved to bring it to a legal determination. He had been rated at twenty shillings for his estate, which he refused to pay; and

and the case was argued twelve days in the Exchequer-chamber, before all the judges of England. The nation regarded, with the utmost anxiety, the result of a trial that was to fix the limits of the king's power: but after the former opinion of the judges on this subject, the event might have been easily foreseen. All the judges, four only excepted, gave sentence in favour of the crown; while Hampden, who lost his cause, was more than sufficiently recompensed by the applauses of the people. Nothing now was heard in every company but murmurs against government, and encomiums on him who had withstood its usurpations. It was now alleged that tyranny was confirmed into system; and that there was no redress except in sullen patience or contented slavery. Ecclesiastical tyranny was thought to give aid to political injustice; and all the rights of the nation, transmitted through so many ages, secured by so many laws, and purchased by the blood of so many heroes, now lay prostrate in undistinguished neglect. In this universal state of despondence or clamour, an accident gave the people of England an opportunity of vindicating their ancient privileges, and even of acquiring greater than was compatible with the subjects' happiness to be possessed of.

The Scots had, during the reign of James the First, shown a strong attachment to puritanical principles; and though they still continued to allow of bishops, yet they were reduced to poverty, and treated with contempt. James, indeed, had seen the low estate of episcopacy in that kingdom, and had endeavoured to exalt and establish it once more; but he died in the midst

of

of his endeavours. It was the fate of Charles for ever to aim at projects which were at once impracticable and unnecessary; he resolved therefore to complete what his father had begun. This ill-judged attempt served to alienate the affections of his Scottish subjects as much as his encroachments on liberty had rendered him unpopular in England. The flame of sedition in Scotland passed from city to city, while the puritans formed a *Covenant*, to support and defend their opinions; and resolved to establish their doctrines, or overturn the state. On the other hand, the court was determined to establish the liturgy of the church of England; and both sides being obstinate in opinion, those sanguinary measures were soon begun in Scotland, which had hitherto been only talked of among the English.

The discontent and opposition which the king met with in maintaining episcopacy among his English subjects might, one would think, hinder him from attempting to introduce it among those of Scotland; but such was his ardour, that he was resolved to have it established in every part of his dominions. Having published an order for reading the liturgy in the principal church in Edinburgh, the people received it with clamours and imprecations. The court party, indeed, with great justice, blamed their obstinacy, as the innovations were but trifling; but the people might have retorted with still greater force the folly of their thus earnestly attempting the establishment of trifles. The seditious disposition in that kingdom, which had hitherto been kept within bounds, was now too furious for restraint,

straint, and the insurrection became general over all the country.

Yet still the king could not think of desisting from his design; and so prepossessed was he in favour of royal right, that he thought the very name of king, when forcibly urged, would induce them to return to their duty. But he was soon undeceived; the puritans of Scotland were republicans in principle as well as those in England; and they only wished to see the bishops first humbled, in order to make a more successful attack upon unguarded monarchy. Charles therefore finding them in arms, and that they insisted on displacing the bishops, considered their demands as an open declaration of war; and accordingly summoned such of the nobility of England as held lands of the crown, to furnish him with a proper number of forces to oppose them. To add to these supplies, he demanded a voluntary contribution from the clergy, as he was in fact fighting their cause; and, by means of his queen, the catholics were also pressed for their assistance. By these methods he soon found himself at the head of an undisciplined and reluctant army, amounting to about twenty thousand men, and commanded by generals less willing to fight than to negotiate. His superiority in numbers, however, gave him the manifest advantage over his rebellious subjects, who were no way slow in marching to give him battle. But Charles, who inherited the peaceable disposition of his father, was unwilling to come to extremities, although a blow then struck with vigour might have prevented many of his succeeding misfortunes. Instead of fighting with his opponents, he entered upon a treaty with them; so that a suspension of arms

arms was soon agreed upon, and a treaty of peace concluded, which neither side intended to observe; and then both parties agreed to disband their forces. This step of disbanding the army was a fatal measure to Charles, as he could not levy a new army without great labour and expense; while the Scottish insurgents, who were all volunteers in the service, could be mustered again at pleasure. Of this the heads of the malcontents seemed sensible; for they lengthened out the negotiations with affected difficulties, and threw in obstructions in proportion as they were confident of their own superiority. At length, after much altercation, and many treaties signed and broken, both parties once more had recourse to arms, and nothing but blood could satiate the contenders.

War being thus resolved on, the king took every method as before for raising money to support it. Ship-money was levied as usual; some other arbitrary taxes were exacted from the reluctant people with great severity; but one method of raising the supplies reflects immortal honour on those who contributed. The counsellors and servants of the crown lent the king whatever sums they could spare, and distressed their private fortunes to gratify their sovereign. These were the resources of the crown to prepare an army; but they were far from being sufficient; and there now remained only one method more, the long-neglected method of parliamentary supply.

It was now about eleven years since the king had called a parliament. The fierce and ungovernable spirit of the last had taught him to hate and to fear such an assembly; but all re- A.D. 1610.

sources being exhausted, and great debts contracted, he was obliged to call another parliament, from which he had no great reason to expect any favour. The many illegal, and the numerous imprudent steps of the crown, the hardships which several persons had suffered, and their constancy in undergoing punishment, had as much alienated the affections of the king's English as of his Scottish subjects. Instead of supplies, the king was harassed with murmurs and complaints. The zealous in religion were pleased with the distresses of the crown, in its attempts against their brethren in opinion; and the real friends to the liberties of mankind saw, with their usual penetration, that the time was approaching when the royal authority must fall into a total dependence on popular assemblies, and when public freedom must acquire a full ascendant.

The house of commons could not be induced to treat the Scots, who were of the same principles with themselves, and contended against the same ceremonies, as enemies to the state. They regarded them as friends and brothers, who first rose to teach them a duty it was incumbent on all virtuous minds to imitate. The king, therefore, could reap no other fruits from this assembly than murmurings and complaints. Every method he had taken to supply himself with money was declared an abuse, and a breach of the constitution. Tonnage and poundage, ship-money, the sale of monopolies, the billeting soldiers upon refractory citizens, were all voted as stretches of arbitrary power. The king finding no hopes of redress from the commons, had recourse to the house of peers; but this was equally in-

ineffectual with the former application. The king finding no hopes of a compliance with his request, but recrimination instead of redress, dissolved the parliament, to try more feasible methods of removing his necessities.

The king having now made enemies of his Scottish subjects, by controuling them in their mode of worship, and of the commons by dissolving them, it remained to exasperate the city of London against him by some new imprudence. Upon their refusing to lend money to carry on the war against the Scots, he sued the citizens in the Star-chamber for some lands in Ireland, and made them pay a considerable fine. He continued also to exact all the taxes against which every former parliament had remonstrated, but all was insufficient. A loan of forty thousand pounds was extorted from the Spanish merchants, who had bullion in the Tower, exposed to the attempts of the king. Coat and conduct money for the soldiers was levied on the counties; an ancient practice, but supposed to be abolished by the petition of right. All the pepper was bought from the East India Company upon trust, and sold at a great discount for ready money. A scheme was proposed for coining two or three hundred thousand pounds of base money; and yet all these methods were far from being effectual. The Scots, therefore, sensible of the extremities to which he was reduced, led on an army of twenty thousand men as far as Newcastle upon Tyne, to lay their grievances before their sovereign, as they were pleased to term their rebellion. One of the most disgusting strokes in the puritanical character of the times was this gentle language, and humble cant, in

the midst of treason, and their flattery to their prince, while they were attempting to dethrone and destroy him.

To these troops, inspired by religion, flushed with some slight victories obtained over straggling parties of the royalists, and encouraged by the English themselves, among whom they continued, the king was able only to oppose a smaller force, new levied, undisciplined, seditious, and ill paid. Being, therefore, in despair of stemming the torrent, he at last yielded to it. He first summoned a great council of peers to York; and, as he foresaw that they would advise him to call a parliament, he told them in his first speech that he had already taken that resolution. Having thus prepared for his misfortunes, he a short time after called that long parliament which never discontinued sitting till they finally accomplished his ruin.

Nov. 3, 1640.

CHAP. XXX.

CHARLES I. (Continued.)

THE ardent expectations of men with regard to a parliament, at such a critical juncture, and during such general discontents, might naturally engage the attendance of the members on their duty. The house of commons was never, from its first institution, observed to be so numerous, or the assiduity of its members greater. Without any interval, therefore, they entered upon business; and by unanimous consent they struck a blow that might be regarded as decisive. Instead of granting the demanded subsidies, they impeached the earl of Strafford, the king's first minister, and had him arraigned before the house of peers for high treason. Pym, a tedious, but sensible speaker, who at first opened the accusation against him in the house of commons, was sent up to defend it at the bar of the house of lords; and most of the house accompanied their member on so agreeable an errand.

To bestow the greatest solemnity on this important trial, scaffolds were erected in Westminster-Hall, where both houses sat, the one as judges, the other as accusers. Beside the chair of state, a close gallery was prepared for the king and queen, who attended during the whole trial. The articles of impeachment against him were twenty-eight in number, the substance of which was, that he had attempted to extend the king's authority at home, and had been guilty of several exactions in Ireland. But though four months were employed by the managers in

framing the accusation, yet there appears very little just cause of blame in him, since the stretches of the king's power were made before he came into authority. However, the managers for the house of commons pleaded against him with vehemence stronger than their reasons, and summed up their arguments by insisting, that though each article taken separately did not amount to a proof, yet the whole taken together, might be fairly concluded to carry conviction. This is a method of arguing frequently used in the English courts of justice even to this day: and perhaps none can be more erroneous; for almost every falsehood may be found to have a multiplicity of weak reasons to support it. In this tumult of aggravation and clamour, the earl himself, whose parts and wisdom had been long respectable, stood unmoved and undaunted. He defended his cause with all the presence of mind, judgment, and sagacity, that could be expected from innocence and ability. His children were placed beside him, as he was thus defending his life, and the cause of his master. After he had, in a long and eloquent speech, delivered without premeditation, confuted all the accusations of his enemies; after he had shown, that, during his government in Ireland, he had introduced the arts of peace among the savage part of that people; after he had declared, that though his measures in England were harsh he showed the necessity by which he was driven into them, since his coming over; after he had clearly refuted the argument upon the accumulated force of his guilt, he thus drew to a conclusion, "But, my lords, I "have troubled you too long; longer than I

"should

"should have done, but for the sake of these "dear pledges, which a saint in heaven has left "me."—Upon this he paused, dropped a tear, looked upon his children, and proceeded:— "What I forfeit for myself is a trifle; that my "indiscretions should reach my posterity, wounds "me to the heart.—Pardon my infirmity.— "Something I should have added, but am not "able; therefore let it pass. And now, my "lords, for myself; I have long been taught that "the afflictions of this life are overpaid by that "eternal weight of glory which waits the inno- "cent; and so, my lords, even so, with the ut- "most tranquillity, I submit myself to your judg- "ment, whether that judgment be life or death; "not my will, but thine, O God, be done!" His eloquence and innocence induced those judges to pity who were the most zealous to condemn him. The king himself went to the house of lords, and spoke for some time in his defence; but the spirit of vengeance, that had been chained for eleven years, was now roused, and nothing but his blood could give the people satisfaction. He was found guilty by both houses of parliament; and nothing remained but for the king to give his consent to the bill of attainder. But in the present commotions, the consent of the king was a thing that would very easily be dispensed with; and imminent dangers might attend his refusal. Yet still Charles, who loved Strafford tenderly, hesitated, and seemed reluctant, trying every expedient to put off so dreadful a duty as that of signing the warrant for his execution. While he continued in this agitation of mind, not knowing how to act, his doubts were at last silenced by an act of

heroic bravery in the condemned lord. He received a letter from that unfortunate nobleman, desiring that his life might be made the sacrifice of a mutual reconciliation between the king and his people; adding that he was prepared to die, and to a willing mind there could be no injury. This instance of noble generosity was but ill repaid by his master, who complied with his request. He consented to the signing the fatal bill by commission; Strafford was beheaded on Tower-hill, behaving with all that composed dignity of resolution that was expected from his character. The people, taught by his death to trample upon the rights of humanity, soon after resolved to shed blood that was still more precious.

But the commons did not stop their impeachments here. Laud also, after a deliberation which did not continue half an hour, was considered as sufficiently culpable to incur the same accusation, and was committed to custody. Finch, the lord-keeper, was also impeached; but he had the precaution to make his escape, and fly over into Holland, as did sir Francis Wyndebank, the secretary, into France.

The crown being thus deprived of the services of its ministers, the commons next proceeded to attack the few privileges it still possessed. During the late military operations, several powers had been exerted by the lieutenants, and deputy-lieutenants of counties, who were all under the influence of the crown. These were, therefore, voted *Delinquents*; a term now first used to signify transgressors, whose crimes were not as yet ascertained by law. The sheriffs also, who had obeyed the king's mandate in raising ship-money, were voted also to be delinquents. All the farmers and officers of the customs,

toms, who had been employed during so many years in levying tonnage and poundage, were subjected to the same imputation, and only purchased their safety by paying a hundred and fifty thousand pounds. Every discretionary or arbitrary sentence of the Star-chamber, and High-commission courts, underwent a severe scrutiny; and all those who had any hand in such sentences were voted to be liable to the penalties of the law. The judges, who had declared against Hampden, in the trial of ship-money, were accused before the peers, and obliged to find security for their appearance. All those monopolies which had been lately granted by the crown were now annihilated by the order of the commons; and they carried their detestation of that grievance so far as to expel from their own house all such members as had been monopolists or projectors.

Hitherto we have seen the commons in some measure the patrons of liberty and of the people; boldly opposing the stretches of illegal power, or repressing those claims which, though founded on custom, were destructive of freedom. Thus far their aims, their struggles, were just and honourable: but the general passions of the nation were now excited; and having been once put into motion, they soon passed the line, and knew not where to stop. Had they been contented with resting here, after abridging all those privileges of monarchy which were capable of injuring the subject, and leaving it all those prerogatives that could benefit, they would have been considered as the great benefactors of mankind, and would have left the constitution pretty nearly on the same footing on which we enjoy it at

at present. But they either were willing to revenge their former sufferings, or thought that some terrible examples were necessary to deter others from attempting to enslave their country. The horrors of a civil war were not sufficiently attended to; and they precipitately involved the nation in calamities which they themselves were the first to repent.

The whole nation was thrown into a general ferment. The harangues of the members, now first published and dispersed, kept alive the horrors which were felt for the late administration. The pulpits, delivered over to the puritanical preachers, whom the commons arbitrarily placed in all the considerable churches, resounded with faction and fanaticism. The press, freed from all fear or restraint, swarmed with productions, dangerous by their sedition and calumny more than by their eloquence or style.

In this universal uproar against the crown, Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, who had some years before suffered so severely for their licentious abuses, and had been committed to remote prisons, were set at liberty by order of the commons, and were seen making their triumphant entry into the capital. Bastwick had been confined in Scilly, Burton in Jersey, and Prynne in Guernsey; and upon landing at their respective places, they were received by the acclamations of the people, and attended by crowds to London. Boughs were carried in this tumultuous procession; the roads were strewed with flowers, their sufferings were aggravated, and their persecutors reviled. Every person who had been punished for seditious libels during the foregoing administration, now recovered their liberty,

berty, and had damages given them upon those who had decreed their punishment.

Grievances had, no doubt, and heavy ones, been endured during the last intermission of parliament; but the very complaints against them now became one of the greatest grievances. So many were offered within doors, and petitioned against without, that the house was divided into above forty committees, charged each of them with the examination of its respective complaints. The torrent rising to so dreadful and unexpected a height, despair seized all those who, from interest or habit, were attached to monarchy; while the king himself saw, with amazement, the whole fabric of government totally overturned. "You have taken," said he to the parliament, "the whole machine of govern-"ment to pieces; a practice frequent with skil-"ful artists, when they desire to clear the wheels "from any rust which may have grown upon "them. The engine may be restored to its "former use and motions, provided it be fitted "up entire, so as not a pin be wanting." But the commons, in their present temper, were much better adapted to destroy than to fit up; and having taken the machine asunder, they soon found an expeditious set of workmen ready to step in and take the whole business off their hands.

But in this universal rage for abolishing the former constitution, the parliament fell with great justice on two courts, which had been erected under arbitrary kings, and had seldom been employed but in cases of necessity. These were the High-commission court, and the court of Star-chamber. A bill unanimously passed the houses to abolish both; and in them to annihilate

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hilate the principal and most dangerous articles in the king's prerogative. The first of those, which was instituted for defending the establishments of the church, had great power in all ecclesiastical matters; and the judges in that court were entirely arbitrary in whatever punishments, or fines, they thought proper to inflict. The Star-chamber had given force to the king's proclamations, and punished such as ventured to transgress them; but that being now taken away, his proclamations were of no effect, and might be opposed with impunity. Such were the transactions of this first session of the long parliament; and though in some cases they acted with anger, and in others with precipitation, yet their merits so much overbalanced their mistakes, that they deserve the highest gratitude from posterity.

After this the parliament seemingly adjourned; but a committee of both houses, a thing altogether unprecedented, was appointed to sit during the recess, with very ample powers, and very little less than those of the parliament in the plenitude of its authority. Pym was appointed chairman of the lower house; in this, farther attempts were made for assuming the sovereign executive powers, and publishing the ordinances of this committee as statutes enacted by all the branches of the legislature. In the mean time, the king went to pay a visit to his subjects in Scotland.

In the midst of these troubles, the papists of Ireland fancied they found a convenient opportunity of throwing off the English yoke. There was a gentleman called Roger More, who, though of a narrow fortune, was descended from a very ancient Irish family, and was very much cele-

celebrated among his countrymen for his valour and capacity. This man first formed the project of expelling the English, and asserting the independency of his native country. The occasion was favourable; the English, warmly engaged in domestic animosities, were unable to attend to a distant insurrection; and those of that nation, who resided among them, were too feeble to resist. Struck with these motives, sir Phelim O'Neale entered into a conspiracy; lord Macguire came into his designs, and soon after all the chiefs of the native Irish promised their concurrence.

Their plan was laid accordingly, which was, that sir Phelim O'Neale, and the other conspirators, should all begin an insurrection on one day throughout the provinces; should destroy all the English, while lord Macguire and Roger More should surprise the castle of Dublin. They had fixed on the approach of winter for this revolt; the day was appointed, every thing in readiness, the secret profoundly kept, and the conspirators promised themselves a certainty of success. The earl of Leicester, who had been appointed lord lieutenant, was then in London. Sir William Parsons, and sir John Borlace, the two lords justices, were men of mean intellects; and, without attending to the interests of their country, indulging themselves in the most profound tranquillity on the brink of ruin.

The very day before the intended seizure of the castle of Dublin, the plot was discovered by one O'Conolly, an Irishman, but a protestant, to the justices, who fled to the castle, and alarmed all the protestant inhabitants of the city to prepare for their defence. Macguire was taken, but More escaped; and new informations being every

every hour added to those already received, the project of a general insurrection was no longer a secret.

But though the citizens of Dublin had just time enough to save themselves from danger, the protestants, dispersed over the different parts of the country, were taken unprepared. O'Neale and his confederates had already taken arms in Ulster. The Irish, every where intermingled with the English, needed but a hint from their leaders and priests to massacre a people whom they hated for their religion, and envied for their riches and prosperity. The insurrections of a civilised people are usually marked with very little cruelty; but the revolt of a savage nation generally aims at extermination. The Irish accordingly resolved to cut off all the protestants of the kingdom at a stroke; so that neither age, sex, nor condition, received any pity. In such indiscriminate slaughter, neither former benefits, nor alliances, nor authority, were any protection: numberless were the instances of friends murdering their intimates, relations their kinsmen, and servants their masters. In vain did flight save from the first assault; destruction, that had an extensive spread, met the hunted victims at every turn. Not only death, but studied cruelties were inflicted on the unhappy sufferers; the very avarice of the revolters could not restrain their thirst for blood, and they burned the inhabitants in their own houses, to increase their punishment. Several hundreds were driven upon a bridge, and from thence obliged, by these barbarians, to leap into the water, where they were drowned. The English colonies were totally annihilated in the open country of Ulster;

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but in the other provinces the rebels pretended to act with great humanity.

The protestants were driven there from their houses, to meet the severity of the weather, without food or raiment, and numbers of them perished with the cold which happened at that time to be peculiarly severe. By some computations, those who perished by all these cruelties, are made to amount to an hundred and fifty, or two hundred thousand; but, by a moderate computation, they could not have been less than forty thousand.

In the mean time, the English Pale, as it was called, consisting of the old English catholics, who had first come over, joining with the native Irish, a large army was formed, amounting to above twenty thousand men, which threatened a total extermination of the English power in that island. The king was at that time in Scotland, when he received the first accounts of this rebellion; and though he did all in his power to induce his subjects there to lend assistance to the protestant cause, yet he found them totally averse to sending any succours into Ireland. Their aim was to oblige the parliament of England with what succours they could spare, and not to obey the injunctions of their sovereign. They went still farther, and had the assurance to impute a part of these dreadful massacres to the king's own contrivance. In fact, the rebels of Ireland did not fail to show a royal patent, authorising their attempts; and it is said that sir Phelim O'Neale, having found a royal patent in lord Caulfield's house, whom he had murdered, he tore off the seal, and affixed it to a commission which he had forged for himself.

How-

However this be, the king took all the precautions in his power to show his utter detestation of these bloody proceedings; and being sensible of his own inability to suppress the rebellion, he had once more recourse to his English parliament, and craved their assistance for a supply. But here he found no hopes of assistance; many insinuations were thrown out, that he had himself fomented this rebellion, and no money could be spared for the extinction of distant dangers when they pretended that the kingdom was threatened with greater at home.

It was now that the republican spirit began to appear without any disguise in the present parliament; and that party, instead of attacking the faults of the king, resolved to destroy monarchy. They had seen a republican system of government lately established in Holland, and attended with very noble effects; they began, therefore, to wish for a similar system at home, and many productions of the press at that time sketched out the form. It would be unjust to deny these men the praise of being guided by honest motives; but it would be unwise not to say also, that they were swayed by wrong ones. In the comparison between a republic and a limited monarchy, the balance entirely inclines to the latter, since a real republic never yet existed, except in speculation; and that liberty which demagogues promise to their followers, is generally only sought after for themselves. The aim in general of popular leaders is rather to depress the great than exalt the humble; and in such governments, the lower ranks of people are too commonly the most abject slaves. In a republic, the number of tyrants

rants are capable of supporting each other in their injustice; while in a monarchy there is one object, who, if he offends, is easily punishable, and ought to be brought to justice.

The leaders of the opposition began their operations by a resolution to attack episcopacy, which was one of the strongest bulwarks of the royal power; but previously framed a remonstrance, in which they summed up all their former grievances. These they ascribed to a regular system of tyranny in the king, and asserted that they amounted to a total subversion of the constitution. This, when drawn up by a tumultuous majority of the house, they ordered to be printed and published, without being carried up, as is usual in such cases, to the house of peers, for their assent and approbation. The commons, having thus endeavoured to render the king's administration universally odious, then began upon the hierarchy. Their first measure was, by their own single authority, to suspend all the laws which had been made for the observance of public worship. They particularly forbade bowing at the name of Jesus. They complained of the king's filling five vacant bishopricks; and considered it as an insult upon them, that he should complete and strengthen an order which they were resolved to abolish. They accused thirteen bishops of high treason, for enacting canons without the consent of parliament; and endeavoured to prevail upon the house of peers to exclude all the prelates from their seats and votes in that august assembly. But, notwithstanding all their efforts, the lords refused their concurrence to this law, and all such as any way tended to the farther limitation of royal authority. The ma- A. D. 1641.

jority of the peers adhered to the king; and plainly foresaw the depression of the nobility as a necessary consequence of the popular usurpations on the crown. The commons murmured at their refusal, mixed threats with their indignation, and began, for the first time, to insinuate that the business of the state could be carried on without them.

In order to intimidate the lords into their measures, the populace was let loose to insult and threaten them. Multitudes of people flocked every day towards Westminster, and insulted the prelates and such lords as adhered to the crown. Some seditious apprentices being seised and committed to prison, the house of commons immediately ordered them to be set free. Encouraged by the countenance of the house, the populace crowded about Whitehall, and threw out insolent menaces against the king himself. It was at this time that several reduced officers, and students of the inns of court, offered their services to the king, to repress the rioters; and many frays ensued, not without bloodshed. The rabble, by way of reproach, were called Roundheads, from the manner of wearing their hair: and the gentlemen, Cavaliers. These names afterwards served to distinguish the partisans of either side, and served still more to divide the nation.

The fury of the commons, and also of the populace, did not fail to intimidate the bishops: they saw the storm that was gathering against them; and, probably to avert its effects, they resolved to attend their duty in the house of lords no longer; but drew up a protest, which was signed by twelve of them, in which they declared,

ed, that, being hindered by the populace from attending at the house of lords, they resolved to go there no more till all commotions should be appeased; protesting, in the mean time, against all such laws as should be enacted in their absence.

This cessation of the bishops from the house of lords was what the commons most ardently wished for; and they seised the opportunity with pleasure. An impeachment of high-treason was immediately sent up against them, as guilty of subverting the fundamental laws, and invalidating the legislative authority. In consequence of this, they were by the lords excluded from parliament, and committed to custody; no man in either house daring to speak a word in their vindication. One of the lords, indeed, was heard to say, that he did not believe they were guilty of treason, but thought they were mad, and therefore were fitter for bedlam than a seat in parliament.

This was a fatal blow to the royal interest; but it soon felt a much greater from the king's own imprudence. Charles had long suppressed his resentment, and only strove to satisfy the commons by the greatness of his concessions; but finding that all his compliance had but increased their demands, he could no longer contain. He gave orders to Herbert, his attorney-general, to enter an accusation of high-treason, in the house of peers, against Lord Kimbolton, one of the most popular men of his party, together with five commoners, sir Arthur Hazelrig, Hollis, Hampden, Pym, and Strode. The articles were, that they had traitorously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and govern-

ment of the kingdom, to deprive the king of his regal power, and to impose on his subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical authority; that they had invited a foreign army to invade the kingdom; that they had aimed at subverting the very rights and being of parliaments, and had actually raised and countenanced tumults against the king. Men had scarce leisure to wonder at the precipitancy and imprudence of this impeachment, when they were astonished by another measure, still more rash and more unsupported. A serjeant at arms, in the king's name, demanded of the house the five members, and was sent back without any positive answer. This was followed by a conduct still more extraordinary. The next day the king himself was seen to enter the house of commons alone, advancing through the hall, while all the members stood up to receive him. The speaker withdrew from his chair, and the king took possession of it. Having seated himself, and looked round him for some time, he told the house that he was sorry for the occasion that forced him thither; that he was come in person to seise the members whom he had accused of high-treason, seeing they would not deliver them up to his serjeant at arms. Addressing himself to the speaker, he desired to know whether any of them were in the house; but the speaker, falling on his knees, replied, that he had neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak, in that place, but as the house was pleased to direct him: and he asked pardon for being able to give no other answer. He then sate for some time, to see if the accused were present; but they had escaped a few minutes before his entry. Thus disappointed, perplexed, and not know-

knowing on whom to rely, he next proceeded, amidst the clamours of the populace, who continued to cry out, "Privilege! privilege!" to the common council of the city, and made his complaint to them. The common council only answered his complaint with a contemptuous silence; and on his return, one of the populace, more insolent than the rest, cried out, "To your tents, O Israel!" a watch word among the Jews, when they intended to abandon their princes.

When the commons were assembled the next day, they affected the greatest terror, and passed an unanimous vote that the king had violated their privileges, and they could not assemble again in the same place, till they should have obtained satisfaction, with a guard for their security. They ascribed the last measure of the king to the counsels of the papists; and the city was thus filled with groundless consternation.

As the commons had artfully kept up their panic, in order to inflame the populace, and as the city was now only one scene of confusion, the king, afraid of exposing himself to any fresh insult from the fury of the populace, retired to Windsor, overwhelmed with grief, shame, and remorse. There he began to reflect on the rashness of his former proceedings, and now too late resolved to make some atonement. He therefore wrote to the parliament, informing them that he desisted from his former proceedings against the accused members; and assured them, that upon all occasions he would be as careful of their privileges as of his life or his crown. Thus his former violence had rendered him hateful to his commons, and his present submission now rendered him contemptible.

The commons had already stripped the king of almost all his privileges; the bishops were fled, the judges were intimidated: it now only remained that, after securing the church and the law, they should get possession of the sword also. The power of appointing governors, generals, and levying armies, was still a remaining prerogative of the crown. Having, therefore, first magnified their terrors of popery, which perhaps they actually dreaded, they proceeded to petition that the Tower might be put into their hands, and that Hull, Portsmouth, and the fleet, should be intrusted to persons of their choosing. These were requests, the complying with which levelled all that remained of the ancient constitution: however, such was the necessity of the times, that they were at first contested, and then granted. At last, every compliance only increasing the avidity of making fresh demands, the commons desired to have a militia raised, and governed by such officers and commanders as they should nominate, under pretext of securing them from the Irish papists, of whom they were in great apprehensions.

It was here that Charles first ventured to put a stop to his concessions; and that not by a refusal, but a delay. He was at that time at Dover, attending the queen, and the princess of Orange, who had thought it prudent to leave the kingdom. He replied to the petition of the commons, that he had not now leisure to consider a matter of such great importance, and therefore would defer an answer till his return. But the commons were well aware, that, though this was depriving him even of the shadow of power, yet they had now gone too far to recede,

and

and were therefore desirous of leaving him no authority whatsoever, as being conscious that themselves would be the first victims to its fury. They alleged that the dangers and distempers of the nation were such as could endure no longer delay; and unless the king speedily complied with their demands, they should be obliged, both for his safety and that of the kingdom, to dispose of the militia by the authority of both houses, and were resolved to do it accordingly. In their remonstrances to the king, they desired even to be permitted to command the army for an appointed time; which so exasperated him, that he exclaimed, "No, not for an hour!" This peremptory refusal broke off all further treaty; and both sides were now resolved to have recourse to arms.

Charles, taking the prince of Wales with him, retired to York, where he found the people more loyal, and less infected with the religious phrensy of the times. He found his cause there backed by a more numerous party than he had expected among the people. The queen, who was in Holland, was making successful levies of men and ammunition, by selling the crown jewels. But, before war was openly declared, the shadow of a negotiation was carried on, rather to serve as a pretence to the people, than with a real design of reconciliation. The king offered proposals to the commons, which he knew they would not accept; and they in return submitted nineteen propositions to his consideration, which, if complied with, would have rendered him entirely subservient to their commands. Their import was, that the privy-council, the principal officers of state, the governors of the king's

children, the commanders of the forts, his fleet and army, should be all appointed by, and under the controul of, parliament; that papists should be punished by their authority; that the church and liturgy should be reformed at their discretion; and that such members as had been displaced should be restored. These proposals, which, if they had been complied with, would have moulded the government into an aristocracy, were, happily for posterity, rejected by the king. "Should I grant these demands," said he, in his reply, "I might be waited on "bare-headed; I might have my hand kissed, "the title of majesty be continued to me, and "the king's authority signified by both houses of "parliament might be still the style of your "commands; I might have swords and maces "carried before me, and please myself with the "sight of a crown and sceptre (though even "these twigs would not long flourish, when the "stock upon which they grew was dead): but as "to true and real power, I should remain but the "outside, but the picture, but the sign of a king." War on any terms was, therefore, esteemed preferable to such an ignominious peace. Thus the king and his parliament mutually reproached each other for beginning a scene of slaughter, of which both were equally culpable.

CHAP. XXXI.

CHARLES I. (continued).

NO period since England began could show so many instances of courage, abilities, and virtue, as the present fatal opposition called forth into action. Now was the time when talents of all kinds, unchecked by authority, were called from the lower ranks of life, to dispute for power and pre-eminence. Both sides, equally confident of the justice of their cause, appealed to God to judge of the rectitude of their intentions. The parliament was convinced that it fought for heaven, by asserting its regards for a peculiar mode of worship; and the king was not less convinced that his claims were sacred, as he had ever been taught to consider them as of divine original. Thus passion and enthusiasm on each side animated the combatants; and courage rather than conduct, among these undisciplined troops, decided the fortune of the day. A.D. 1642.

Never was contest more unequal than seemed at first between the contending parties; the king being entirely destitute of every advantage. His revenue had been seized by parliament; all the sea-port towns were in their hands, except Newcastle; and thus they were possessed of the customs which these could supply; the fleet was at their disposal; all magazines of arms and ammunition were seized for their use; and they had the wishes of all the most active members of the nation.

To oppose this, the king had that acknowledged reverence which was paid to royalty, to give

give sanction to his cause. The greater part of the nobility adhered to him, as their distinctions must rise or fall with the source of honour. Most of the men of education also, and the ancient gentry, still considered loyalty as a virtue, and armed their tenants and servants in his cause. With these followers and hopes he resolved to take the field, and erected the royal standard at Nottingham.

Manifestoes on the one side and the other were now dispersed throughout the whole kingdom; and the people were universally divided between two factions, distinguished by the names of Cavaliers and Roundheads. The king, to bind himself by the most solemn engagements to his people, made the following protestation before his whole army.

"I do promise, in the presence of almighty "God, and, as I hope for his blessing and pro- "tection, that I will, to the utmost of my power, "defend and maintain the true reformed protes- "tant religion, established in the church of "England; and, by the grace of God, in the "same will live and die.

"I desire that the laws may be ever the mea- "sure of my government, and that the liberty "and property of the subject may be preserved "by them with the same care as my own just "rights. And if it please God, by his blessing "on this army raised for my necessary defence, "to preserve me from the present rebellion, I "do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the "sight of God, to maintain the just privileges "and freedom of parliament, and to govern, to "the utmost of my power, by the known sta- "tutes and customs of the kingdom; and par-

"ticularly

" ticularly to observe inviolably the laws to " which I have given my consent this parlia- " ment. Mean while, if this emergence, and " the great necessity to which I am driven, beget " any violation of law, I hope it shall be im- " puted by God and man to the authors of this " war, not to me, who have so earnestly labour- " ed to preserve the peace of the kingdom.

" When I willingly fail in these particulars, I " shall expect no aid or relief from man, nor any " protection from above. But in this resolution " I hope for the cheerful assistance of all good " men, and am confident of the blessing of " heaven."

The sincerity with which this speech was delivered, and the justice of its contents, served to strengthen the king's cause. At first he appeared in a very low condition; besides the train-bands of the county, raised by sir John Digby, the sheriff, he had not got together three hundred infantry. His cavalry, which composed his chief strength, exceeded not eight hundred, and were very ill provided with arms. However, he was soon gradually reinforced from all quarters; but not being then in a condition to face his enemies, he thought it prudent to retire by slow marches to Derby, and thence to Shrewsbury, in order to countenance the levies which his friends were making in those quarters.

In the mean time, the parliament were not remiss in preparations on their side. They had a magazine of arms at Hull, and sir John Hotham was appointed governor of that place by parliament. Charles had some time before presented himself before that town, but was refused admission: and from this they drew their principal

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cipal resources. The forces also, which had been every where raised on pretence of the service of Ireland, were now more openly enlisted by the parliament for their own purposes; and the command given to the earl of Essex, a bold man, who rather desired to see monarchy abridged than totally destroyed. In London, no less than four thousand men were enlisted in one day; and the parliament voted a declaration, which they required every member to subscribe, that they would live and die with their general. Orders were also issued out for loans of money and plate, which were to defend the king and both houses of parliament; for they still preserved this style. This brought immense quantities of plate to the treasury; and so great was men's ardour in the cause, that there was more than they could find room for. By these means they found themselves in a short time at the head of sixteen thousand men; and the earl of Essex led them towards Northampton against the king.

The army of the royalists was not so great as that of Essex; however it was supposed to be better disciplined, and better conducted. The two sons of the unfortunate elector Palatine, prince Rupert and prince Maurice, offered their services to the king, and were gladly accepted. A slight advantage gained by prince Rupert over colonel Sandys, in the beginning, gave great hopes of his future activity, and inspired the army with resolution to hazard a battle. So little were both armies skilled in the arts and stratagems of war, that they were within six miles of each other before they were acquainted with their mutual approach; and, what is remarkable,

able, they had been ten days within twenty miles of each other, without knowing it.

Edge-Hill was the first place where the two armies were put in array against each other, and the country first drenched in civil slaughter. It was a dreadful sight, to see above thirty thousand of the bravest men in the world, instead of employing their courage abroad, turning it against each other, while the dearest friends, and the nearest kinsmen, embraced opposite sides, and prepared to bury their private regards in factious hatred. In the beginning of this engagement, sir Faithful Fortescue, who had levied a troop for the Irish war, but had been obliged to serve in the parliamentary army, deserted to the royalists, and so intimidated the parliamentary forces, that the whole body of cavalry fled. The right wing of their army followed their example; but the victors too eagerly pursuing, Essex's body of reserve wheeled upon the rear of the pursuers, and made great havock among them. After the royalists had a little recovered from their surprise, they made a vigorous stand; and both sides for a time stood gazing at each other, without sufficient courage to renew the attack. They all night lay under arms, and next morning found themselves in sight of each other: this had been the time for the king to have struck a decisive blow: he lost the opportunity; and both sides separated with equal loss. Five thousand men are said to have been found dead on the field of battle.

It would be tedious, and no way instructive, to enter into the marchings and countermarchings of these undisciplined and ill-conducted armies: war was a new trade to the English, as they

they had not seen an hostile engagement in the island for near a century before. The queen came to reinforce the royal party; she had brought soldiers and ammunition from Holland, and immediately departed to furnish more. But the parliament, who knew its own strength, was no way discouraged. Their demands seemed to increase in proportion to their losses; and as they were repressed in the field, they grew more haughty in the cabinet. Such governors as gave up their fortresses to the king were attainted of high treason. It was in vain for the king to send proposals after any success; this only raised their pride and their animosity. But though this desire in the king to make peace with his subjects was the highest encomium on his humanity, yet his long negotiations, one of which he carried on at Oxford, were faulty as a warrior. He wasted that time in altercation and treaty which he should have employed in vigorous exertions in the field.

However, this first campaign, upon the whole, wore a favourable aspect. One victory followed after another: Cornwall was reduced to peace and obedience under the king: a victory was gained over the parliamentarians at Stratton-Hill, in Devonshire; another at Roundaway-Down, about two miles from the Devizes; and a third in Chalgrave Field. Bristol was besieged and taken; and Gloucester was besieged: the battle of Newbury was favourable to the royal cause; and great hopes of success were formed from an army in the North, raised by the marquis of Newcastle.

But in this campaign, the two bravest and greatest men of their respective parties were killed;

killed; as if it was intended, by the kindness of Providence, that they should be exempted from seeing the miseries and the slaughter which were shortly to ensue. These were John Hampden, and Lucius Cary, lord Faulkland.

In an incursion made by prince Rupert to within about two miles of the enemy's quarters, a great booty was obtained. This the parliamentarians attempted to rescue; and Hampden, at their head, overtook the royalists in Chalgrave Field. As he ever was the first to enter into the thickest of the battle, he was shot in the shoulder with a brace of bullets, and the bone broke. Some days after he died in great pain; nor could his whole party, had their army met a total overthrow, have been cast into greater consternation. Even Charles, his enemy, felt for his disaster, and offered his own surgeon to assist his cure. Hampden, whom we have seen, in the beginning of these troubles, refuse to pay ship-money, gained, by his inflexible integrity, the esteem even of his enemies. To these he added affability in conversation, temper, art, eloquence in debate, and penetration in council.

But Faulkland was still a greater loss, and a greater character. He added to Hampden's severe principles a politeness and elegance but then beginning to be known in England. He had boldly withstood the king's pretensions, while he saw him making a bad use of his power; but when he perceived the design of the parliament to overturn the religion and the constitution of his country, he changed his side, and stedfastly attached himself to the crown. From the beginning of the civil war, his natural cheer-

cheerfulness and vivacity forsook him; he became melancholy, sad, pale, and negligent of his person. When the two armies were in sight of each other, and preparing for the battle of Newbury, he appeared desirous of terminating his life, since he could not compose the miseries of his country. Still anxious for his country alone, he dreaded the too prosperous success of his own party, as much as that of the enemy; and he professed that its miseries had broken his heart. His usual cry among his friends, after a deep silence, and frequent sighs, was "Peace! Peace!" He now said, upon the morning of the engagement, that he was weary of the times, and should leave them before night. He was shot by a musket-ball in the belly; and his body was next morning found among a heap of slain. His writings, his elegance, his justice, and his courage, deserved such a death of glory: and they found it.

The king, that he might make preparations during the winter for the ensuing campaign, and to oppose the designs of the Westminster parliament, called one at Oxford; and this was the first time that England saw two parliaments sitting at the same time. His house of peers was pretty full; his house of commons consisted of about an hundred and forty, which amounted to not above half of the other house of commons. From this shadow of a parliament he received some supplies; after which it was prorogued, and never after assembled.

In the mean time, the parliament were equally active on their side. They passed an ordinance, commanding all the inhabitants of London and its neighbourhood to retrench a meal a week, and

and to pay the value of it for the support of the public cause. But what was much more effectual, the Scots, who considered their claims as similar, led a strong army to their assistance. They levied an army of fourteen thousand men in the east, under the earl of Manchester; they had an army of ten thousand men under Essex, and another of nearly the same force under sir William Waller. These were superior to any force the king could bring into the field, and were well appointed, with ammunition, provisions, and pay.

Hostilities, which, even during the winter-season, had never been wholly discontinued, were renewed in spring with their usual fury, and served to desolate the kingdom, without deciding victory. Each county joined that side to which it was addicted, from motives of conviction, interest, or fear, though some observed a perfect neutrality. Several frequently petitioned for peace; and all the wise and good were earnest in the cry. What particularly deserves remark, was an attempt of the women of London, who, to the number of two or three thousand, went in a body to the house of commons, earnestly demanding a peace. "Give us those traitors," said they, "that, are against a peace; give them, "that we may tear them in pieces." The guards found some difficulty in quelling this insurrection, and one or two women lost their lives in the fray. A.D. 1644

The battle of Marston-Moor was the beginning of the king's misfortunes and disgrace. The Scotch and parliamentarian army had joined, and were besieging York, when prince Rupert, joined by the marquis of Newcastle, de-

termined to raise the siege. Both sides drew up on Marston-Moor, to the number of fifty thousand, and the victory seemed long undecided between them. Rupert, who commanded the right wing of the royalists, was opposed by Oliver Cromwell, who now first came into notice, at the head of a body of troops whom he had taken care to levy and discipline. Cromwell was victorious; he pushed his opponents off the field, followed the vanquished, returned to a second engagement, and a second victory; the prince's whole train of artillery was taken; and the royalists never after recovered the blow.

While the king was unfortunate in the field, he was not more successful in negotiation. A treaty was begun at Uxbridge, which, like all others, came to nothing. The puritans demanded a total abolition of the episcopacy and all church-ceremonies; and this Charles, from conviction, from interest, and persuasion, was not willing to permit. He had all along adhered to the episcopal jurisdiction, not only because it was favourable to monarchy, but because all his adherents were passionately devoted to it. He esteemed bishops as essential to the Christian church; and thought himself bound, not only by temporal but sacred ties, to defend them. The parliament was as obstinately bent upon removing this order; and, to show their resolution, began with the foremost of the number.

William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, as we have already seen, had been imprisoned in the Tower at the same time with Strafford: and he had patiently endured so long a confinement, without being brought to any trial. He was now, therefore, accused of high treason, in endeavouring

deavouring to subvert the fundamental laws, and of other high crimes and misdemeanors. The groundless charge of popery, which his life and afterwards his death belied, was urged against him. In his defence, he spoke several hours, with that courage which seems the result of innocence and integrity. The lords, who were his judges, appeared willing to acquit him; but the commons, his accusers, finding how his trial was likely to go, passed an ordinance for his execution, and terrified the lords, who continued obstinate, to give their consent. Seven peers alone voted in this important question; all the rest, either from shame or fear, did not appear. When brought to the scaffold, this venerable prelate, without any terror, but in the usual tone of his exhortations from the pulpit, made the people a long speech. He told them that he had examined his heart; and thanked God that he found no sins there which deserved the death he was going to suffer. The king, he said, had been traduced by some, as labouring to introduce popery; but he believed him as sound a protestant as any man in the kingdom; and as for parliaments, though he disliked the conduct of one or two, yet he never designed to change the laws of his country, or the protestant religion. After he had prayed for a few minutes, the executioner severed his head at a blow. It is indeed a melancholy consideration, that in these times of trouble, the best men were those on either side who chiefly suffered.

The death of Laud was followed by a total alteration of the ceremonies of the church. The Liturgy was, by a public act, abolished the day he died, as if he had been the only ob-

stacle to its formal removal. The church of England was in all respects brought to a conformity to the puritanical establishment; while the citizens of London, and the Scotch army, gave public thanks for so happy an alteration.

The total abolition of the reformed religion, as established by queen Elizabeth, seemed at first to promise vigour and consistence to the counsels of the parliamentarians. But such is the nature of man, that if he does not find, he makes opposition. From the moment the puritans began to be apparently united, and ranked under one denomination of Presbyterians, they began again to divide into fresh parties, each professing different views and interests. One part of the house was composed of Presbyterians, strictly so called; the other, though a minority, of Independents, a new sect that had lately been introduced, and gained ground surprisingly.

The difference between these two sects would be hardly worth mentioning, did not their religious opinions influence their political conduct. The church of England, as we have seen, had appointed bishops of clerical ordination, and a book of common-prayer. The presbyterians exclaimed against both; they were for having the church governed by clergymen elected by the people, and prayers made without premeditation. The independents went still farther; they excluded all the clergy; they maintained that every man might pray in public, exhort his audience, and explain the scriptures. Their political system kept pace with their religious. Not contented with reducing the king to a first magistrate, which was the aim of the presbyterians, this sect aspired at the abolition not only

of

of all monarchy, but of all subordination. They maintained, and they maintained right, that all men were born equal; but they alleged also, that no accidental or artificial institutions could destroy this equality; and there they were deceived. Could such a plan of government as theirs be practicable, it would, no doubt, be the most happy; but the wise and industrious must in every country prevail over the weak and idle; and the bad success of the independent scheme soon after showed how ill adapted such speculative ideas were to human infirmity. Possessed, however, with a high idea of their own rectitude both in religion and politics, they gave way to a surly pride, which is ever the result of narrow manners and solitary thinking.

These were a body of men that were now growing into consideration; their apparent sanctity, their natural courage excited by enthusiasm, and their unceasing perseverance, began to work considerable effects; and, though they were outnumbered in the house of commons, which was composed of more enlightened minds, they formed a majority in the army, made up chiefly of the lowest of the vulgar.

The royalists endeavoured to throw a ridicule on this fanaticism, without being sensible how much reason they had to apprehend its dangerous consequences. The forces of the king were united by much feebler ties; and licence among them, which had been introduced by the want of pay, had risen to a dangerous height, rendering them as formidable to their friends as their enemies. To increase this unpopularity, the king, finding the parliament of Scotland as

well as that of England declaring against him thought proper to make a truce with the papists of Ireland, in order to bring over the English forces who served in that kingdom. With these troops he also received some of the native Irish into his service, who still retained their fierceness and their barbarity. This gave the parliament a plausible opportunity of upbraiding him with taking papists into his service, and gave a colour to the ancient calumny of his having excited them to rebel. Unfortunately, too soon after, it was found that they rather increased the hatred of his subjects than added to the strength of his army. They were routed by Fairfax, one of the generals of the parliament army; and though they threw down their arms, they were slaughtered without mercy. It is said that several women were found among the slain, who with long knives had done considerable execution; but the animosity of the English against these wretches at that time might have given rise to the report.

These misfortunes were soon after succeeded by another. Charles, who had now retired to Oxford, found himself at the head of a turbulent seditious army, who, from wanting pay, were scarcely subject to controul; while, on the other hand, the parliamentarians were well supplied and paid, and held together from principle. The parliament, to give them an example of disinterestedness in their own conduct, passed an act, called the *self-denying ordinance*, which deserved all commendation. They resolved, lest it should be suggested by the nation that their intent was to make themselves masters, that no member of their house should have a command in

in the army. The former generals were, therefore, changed; the earls of Essex, Denbigh, and Manchester, gave up their commissions; and Fairfax, who was now appointed general with Cromwell, who found means to keep at once his seat and his commission, new modelled the army. This, which might at first have seemed to weaken their forces, gave them new spirit; and the soldiers, become more confident in their new commanders, were irresistible.

Never was a more singular army assembled than that which now drew the sword in the parliamentary cause. The officers exercised the office of chaplains; and, during the intervals of action, instructed their troops by sermons, prayers, and exhortations. Rapturous ecstasies supplied the place of study and reflection; and while they kindled as they spoke, they ascribed their own warmth to a descent of the spirit from heaven. The private soldiers, seized with the same spirit, employed their vacant hours in prayer, in perusing the holy scriptures, in ghostly conferences. When marching to the field of battle, the hymn and the ejaculation mixed their notes with those of the trumpet. An army thus actuated became invincible.

The well-disputed battle which decided the fate of Charles, was fought at Naseby, a village in Yorkshire. The main body of the royal army was commanded by lord Astley; prince Rupert led the right wing, sir Marmaduke Langdale the left; and the king himself headed the body of reserve. On the opposite side, Fairfax and Skippon commanded the main body; Cromwell led on the right wing, and Ireton, his son-in-law, the left. Prince Rupert attacked the left wing

June 4, 1645.

with his usual impetuosity and success: they were broken and pursued as far as the village; but he lost time in attempting to make himself master of their artillery. Cromwell, in the mean time, was equally successful on his side, and broke through the enemies' horse after a very obstinate resistance. While these were thus engaged, the infantry on both sides maintained the conflict with equal ardour; and, in spite of the efforts of Fairfax and Skippon, their battalions began to give way. But it was now that Cromwell returned with his victorious forces, and charged the king's infantry in flank with such vigour, that a total rout began to ensue. By this time prince Rupert had rejoined the king and the small body of reserve; but his troops, though victorious, could not be brought to a second charge. They were at all times licentious and ungovernable; but they were now intimidated; for the parliamentarians having recovered from the first shock, stood ready in order of battle to receive them. The king was desirous of charging them at the head of his reserve; but the earl of Carnwarth, who rode by his majesty's side, seizing the bridle of his horse, turned him round, saying, with a loud oath, "Will you go upon "your death in an instant?" The troops seeing this motion, wheeled to the right, and rode off in such confusion, that they could not be rallied again during the rest of the day. The king, perceiving the battle wholly lost, was obliged to abandon the field to his enemies, who took all his cannon, baggage, and above five thousand prisoners.

This fatal blow the king never after recovered, his army was dispersed, and the conquerors made

made as many captives as they thought proper. Among the other spoils taken on this occasion, the king's cabinet of letters was seized, in which was contained all his private correspondence with the queen. These were shortly after published by the command of the parliament, who took a vulgar and brutal pleasure in ridiculing all those tender effusions which were never drawn up for the public eye.

The battle of Naseby put the parliamentarians in possession of almost all the strong cities of the kingdom, Bristol, Bridgwater, Chester, Sherborn, and Bath. Exeter was besieged; and all the king's troops in the western counties being entirely dispersed, Fairfax pressed the place, and it surrendered at discretion. The king's interests seemed going to ruin on every quarter. The Scottish army, which, as has been said, took part with the parliament, having made themselves masters of Carlisle, after an obstinate siege, marched south, and laid siege to Hereford. Another engagement followed between the king and the parliamentarians, in which his forces were put to the rout by colonel Jones, a thousand of his men made prisoners, and five hundred slain. Thus surrounded, harassed on every side, he retreated to Oxford, that in all conditions of his fortune had held steady to his cause; and there he resolved to offer new terms to his victorious pursuers.

Nothing could be more affecting than the king's situation during his abode at Oxford. Saddened by his late melancholy disasters, impressed with the apprehensions of such as hung over him, harassed by the murmurs of those who had followed his cause, and stung with sorrow for his incapa-

incapacity to relieve them, he now was willing to grant the parliament their own terms, and at any rate to procure a reconciliation. He therefore sent them repeated messages to this purpose; but they never deigned to make him the least reply. At last, after reproaching him with the blood spilt during the war, they told him that they were preparing some bills, to which if he would consent, they would then be able to judge of his pacific inclinations.

In the mean time, Fairfax was approaching with a powerful and victorious army, and was taking the proper measures for laying siege to Oxford, which promised an easy surrender. To be taken captive, and led in triumph by his insolent subjects, was what Charles justly abhorred; and every insult and violence was to be dreaded from the soldiery, who had felt the effects of his opposition. In this desperate extremity, he embraced a measure which, in any other situation, might justly lie under the imputation of imprudence and indiscretion. He resolved to give himself up to the Scots' army, who had never testified such implacable animosity against him, and to trust to their loyalty for the rest.

That he might the better conceal his design from the people of Oxford, orders were given at every gate of the city for allowing three persons to pass. In the night, the king, accompanied by one doctor Hudson, and Mr. Ashburnham, took the road towards London, travelling as Ashburnham's servant. He, in fact, came so near London, that he once entertained some thoughts of entering that city, and of throwing himself on the mercy of the parliament. At last, after passing through many cross-roads and by-

ways,

ways, he arrived at the Scots' camp before Newark, and discovered himself to lord Leven, the Scots' general. Jan. 30. 1646.

The Scots, who had before given him some general assurances of their fidelity and protection, now seemed greatly surprised at his arrival among them. Instead of bestowing a thought on his interests, they instantly entered into a consultation upon their own. The commissioners of their army sent up an account of the king's arrival to the parliament; and declared that his coming was altogether uninvited and unexpected. In the mean time, they prevailed upon the king to give directions for surrendering all his garrisons to the parliament, with which he complied. In return for this condescension, they treated him with very long sermons among the ecclesiastics, and with the most cautious reserve, but very different from respect, among the officers. The preachers of the party indeed insulted him from the pulpit; and one of them, after reproaching him to his face with his misconduct, ordered that psalm to be sung, which begins,

"Why dost thou, tyrant, boast thyself,
Thy wicked deeds to praise?"

The king stood up, and called for that psalm which begins with these words,

"Have mercy, Lord, on me, I pray,
For men would me devour."

The audience accordingly sung this psalm in compassion to majesty in distress.

The parliament being informed of the king's captivity, immediately entered into a treaty with the Scots, about delivering up their prisoner. The Scots had, from their first entrance into England, been allowed pay by the parliament, in

in order to prevent their plundering the country; much of this, however, remained unpaid, from the unavoidable necessities of the times; and much more was claimed by the Scots than was really due. Nevertheless, they now saw this a convenient time for insisting on their arrears; and they resolved to make the king the instrument by which this money was to be obtained. After various debates upon this head between them and the parliament, in which they pretended to great honour, and insisted upon many punctilios, they agreed, that upon payment of four hundred thousand pounds, they would deliver up the king to his enemies: and this was cheerfully complied with. An action so atrocious may be palliated, but can never be defended; they returned home, laden with plunder, and the reproaches of all good men.

From this period to the despotic government of Cromwell, the constitution was convulsed with all the agitations of faction, guilt, ignorance, and enthusiasm. The kingly power being laid low, the parliament attempted to assume the reign; but they were soon to submit in turn to the military power, which, like all democracies, was turbulent, transient, feeble, and bloody.

CHAP. XXXII.

CHARLES I. (Continued).

THE king being delivered over by the Scots to the parliamentary commissioners, he was conducted under a guard to Holmby Castle, in Northamptonshire. They treated him in confinement with the most rigorous severity, dismissing all his ancient servants, debarring him from all visits, and cutting off all communication with his friends and family.

The civil war was now over; the king had absolved his followers from their allegiance, and the parliament had now no enemy to fear, except those very troops by which they had extended their overgrown authority. But in proportion as the terror of the king's power diminished, the division between the independents and the presbyterians became more apparent. The majority in the house were of the presbyterian sect; but the majority of the army were staunch independents. At the head of this sect was Cromwell, who secretly directed its operations, and invigorated all their measures.

Oliver Cromwell, whose talents now began to appear in full lustre, was the son of a private gentleman of Huntingdon; but being the son of a second brother, he inherited a very small paternal fortune. He had been sent to Cambridge; but his inclinations not at that time turning to the calm occupations of elegant literature, he was remarkable only for the profligacy of his conduct, and the wasting his paternal fortune.

It

It was, perhaps, his poverty that induced him to fall into the opposite extreme shortly after; for, from being one of the most debauched men in the kingdom, he became the most rigid and abstemious. The same vehemence of temper, which had transported him into the extremes of pleasure, now distinguished his religious habits. He endeavoured to improve his shattered fortunes by agriculture; but this expedient served only to plunge him in further difficulties. He was even determined to go over and settle in New-England; but was hindered by the king's ordinance to the contrary. From accident or intrigue, he was chosen member for the town of Cambridge, in the long parliament; but he seemed at first to possess no talents for oratory, his person being ungraceful, his dress slovenly, his elocution homely, tedious, obscure, and embarrassed. He made up, however, by zeal and perseverance, what he wanted in natural powers; and being endowed with unshaken intrepidity, much dissimulation, and a thorough conviction of the rectitude of his cause, he rose, through the gradations of preferment, to the post of lieutenant-general under Fairfax; but, in reality, possessing the supreme command over the whole army.

Soon after the retreat of the Scots, the presbyterian party, seeing every thing reduced to obedience, began to talk of dismissing a considerable part of the army, and sending the rest to Ireland. It may easily be supposed, that for every reason the army were as unwilling to disband as to be led over into a country as yet uncivilised, uncultivated, and barbarous. Cromwell took care to inspire them with a horror of either;

either; they loved him for his bravery and religious zeal, and still more for his seeming affection to them. Instead, therefore, of preparing to disband, they resolved to petition; and they began by desiring an indemnity, ratified by the king, for any illegal actions which they might have committed during the war. This the commons, in turn, treated with great severity; they voted, that this petition tended to introduce mutiny, to put conditions upon the parliament, to obstruct the relief of the kingdom of Ireland; and they threatened to proceed against the promoters of it as enemies to the state, and disturbers of the public peace.

The army now began to consider themselves as a body distinct from the commonwealth; and complained, that they had secured the general tranquillity, while they were, at the same time, deprived of the privileges of Englishmen. In opposition, therefore, to the parliament at Westminster, a military parliament was formed, composed of the officers and common soldiers of each regiment. The principal officers formed a council to represent the body of peers; the soldiers elected two men out of each company to represent the house of commons; and these were called the Agitators of the army. Cromwell took care to be one of the number, and thus contrived an easy method under-hand of conducting and promoting the sedition of the army.

This fierce assembly, having debated for a very short time, declared that they found many grievances to be redressed; and began by specifying such as they desired to be most speedily removed. The very same conduct which had formerly been used with success by the parliament

ment against their sovereign, was now put in practice by the army against the parliament. As the commons granted every request, the agitators rose in their demands; these accused the army of mutiny and sedition; the army retorted the charge, and alleged, that the king had been deposed only to make way for their usurpations.

The unhappy king, in the mean time, continued a prisoner at Holmby Castle; and as his countenance might add some authority to that side which should obtain it, Cromwell, who secretly conducted all the measures of the army while he apparently exclaimed against their violence, resolved to seize the king's person. Accordingly a party of five hundred horse appeared at Holmby Castle, under the command of one Joyce, who had been originally a tailor, but who, in the present confusion of all ranks and orders, was advanced to the rank of cornet. Without any opposition, he entered the king's apartment, armed with pistols, and told him that he must prepare and go with him. "Whither?" said the king. "To the army," replied Joyce. "By what warrant?" asked the king. Joyce pointed to his followers. "Your warrant," replied Charles, "is wrote in fair characters." And then, without further delay, he went into his coach, and was safely conducted to the army, who were hastening to their rendezvous at Triploheath, near Cambridge. The next day Cromwell arrived among them, where he was received with acclamations of joy, and was instantly invested with the supreme command.

It was now that the commons perceived a settled design in the army to prescribe laws to their employers; and they did not fail to spread the alarm

alarm through the city. But it was too late to resist; the army, with Cromwell at their head, advanced with precipitation, and arrived in a few days at St. Alban's; so that the commons now began to think of temporising. The declaration, by which they had voted the military petitioners enemies to the state, was recalled, and erased from their journal-book. But all submission was become vain; the army still rose in their demands, in proportion as those demands were gratified, until at last they entirely threw off the mask, and claimed a right of modelling the whole government, and settling the nation.

But as too precipitate an assumption of authority might appear invidious, Cromwell began by accusing eleven members of the house as guilty of high treason, and enemies to the army. The members accused were the leaders of the presbyterian party, the very men who had prescribed such rigorous measures to the king, and now, in their turn, were threatened with popular resentment. As they were the leading men in the house, the commons were willing to protect them; but the army insisting on their dismission, they voluntarily left the house rather than be compelled to withdraw.

At last the citizens of London, who had been ever foremost in sedition, began to open their eyes, and to perceive that the constitution was totally overturned. They saw an oppressive parliament now subjected to a more oppressive army; they found their religion abolished, their king a captive, and no hopes of redress but from another scene of slaughter. In this exigence, therefore, the common-council assembled the militia of

the city; the works were manned, and a manifesto published, aggravating the hostile intentions of the army. Finding that the house of commons, in compliance with the request of the army, had voted that the city militia should be disbanded, the multitude rose, besieged the door of the house, and obliged them to reverse that vote which they had passed so lately.

In this manner was this wretched house intimidated on either side, obliged at one time to obey the army, at another to comply with the clamours of the city rabble. This assembly was, in consequence, divided into parties, as usual; one part siding with the seditious citizens, while the minority, with the two speakers at their head, were for encouraging the army. In such an universal confusion, it is not to be expected that any thing less than a separation of the parties could take place; and accordingly the two speakers, with sixty-two members, secretly retired from the house, and threw themselves under the protection of the army, that were then at Hounslow-heath. They were received with shouts and acclamations; their integrity was extolled; and the whole body of the soldiery, a formidable force of twenty thousand men, now moved forward, to re-instate them in their former seats and stations.

In the mean time, that part of the house that was left behind resolved to act with vigour, and resist the encroachments of the army. They chose new speakers; they gave orders for enlisting troops; they ordered the train-bands to man the lines; and the whole city boldly resolved to resist the invasion. But this resolution only held while the enemy was thought at a distance; for when

when the formidable force of Cromwell appeared, all was obedience and submission; the gates were opened to the general, who attended the two speakers, and the rest of the members, peaceably to their habitations. The eleven impeached members, being accused as causes of the tumult, were expelled, and most of them retired to the continent. The mayor, sheriff, and three aldermen, were sent to the Tower; several citizens, and officers of militia, were committed to prison, and the lines about the city were levelled to the ground. The command of the Tower was given to Fairfax, the general; and the parliament ordered him their hearty thanks for having disobeyed their commands.

It now only remained to dispose of the king, who had been sent by the army a prisoner to Hampton-Court. The independent army, at the head of whom was Cromwell, on one hand, and the presbyterians in the name of either house, on the other hand, treated separately with him in private. He had at one time even hopes, that, in these struggles for power, he might have been chosen mediator in the dispute; and he expected that the kingdom, at last sensible of the miseries of anarchy, would, like a froward child, hushed with its own importunities, settle into its former tranquil constitution. However, in all his miseries and doubts, though at first led about with the army, and afterwards kept a prisoner by them at Hampton, such was his admirable equality of temper, that no difference was perceived in his countenance and behaviour. Though a captive in the hands of his most inveterate enemies, he still supported the dignity of a mon-

arch; and he never one moment sunk from the consciousness of his own superiority.

It is true, that at first he was treated with some flattering marks of distinction; he was permitted to converse with his old servants, his chaplains were admitted to attend him, and celebrate divine service their own way. But the most exquisite pleasure he enjoyed was in the company of his children, with whom he had several interviews. The meeting on these occasions was so pathetic, that Cromwell himself, who was once present, could not help being moved; he was heard to declare, that he had never beheld such an affecting scene before; and we must do justice to this man's feelings, as he was himself a tender father.

But those flattering instances of respect and submission were of no long continuance. As soon as the army had gained a complete victory over the house of commons, the independents began to abate of their expressions of duty and respect. The king, therefore, was now more strictly guarded: they would hardly allow his domestics to converse with him in private, and spies were employed to mark all his words and actions. He was every hour threatened with false dangers of Cromwell's contrivance; by which he was taught to fear for his personal safety. The spies and creatures of that cunning man were sedulously employed in raising the king's terrors, and representing to him the danger of his situation. These at length prevailed, and Charles resolved to withdraw himself from the army. Cromwell considered, that if he should escape the kingdom, there would be then a theatre open to his ambition;

ambition; if he should be apprehended, the late attempt would aggravate his guilt, and apologise for any succeeding severity.

Early in the evening, the king retired to his chamber, on pretence of being indisposed; and about an hour after midnight, he went down the back-stairs, attended by Ashburnham and Leg, both gentlemen of his bed-chamber. Sir John Berkeley waited for him at the garden-gate with horses, which they instantly mounted, and, travelling through the Forest all night, arrived at Tichfield, the seat of the earl of Southampton. Before he arrived at this place, he had gone towards the shore, and expressed great anxiety that a ship, which Ashburnham had promised to be in readiness, was not to be seen. At Tichfield, he deliberated with his friends, upon his next excursion, and they advised him to cross over to the Isle of Wight, where Hammond was governor, who, though a creature of Cromwell's, was yet a nephew of one doctor Hammond, the king's chaplain. To this inauspicious protector it was resolved to have recourse; Ashburnham and Berkeley were sent before to exact a promise from this officer, that if he would not protect the king, he would not detain him. Hammond seemed surprised at their demand; expressed his inclination to serve his majesty, but at the same time alleged his duty to his employers. He therefore attended the king's gentlemen to Tichfield, with a guard of soldiers, and staid in a lower apartment while Ashburnham went up to the king's chamber. Charles no sooner understood that Hammond was in the house with a body of troops, than he exclaimed, "O Jack! thou hast undone me!" Ashburnham shed a

flood of tears, and offered to go down and dispatch the governor, but the king repressed his ardour. When Hammond came into his presence, he repeated his professions of regard; Charles submitted to his fate; and, without further delay, attended him to Carisbrook castle, in the Isle of Wight, where he at first found himself treated with marks of duty and respect.

While the king continued in this forlorn situation, the parliament, new modelled as it was by the army, was every day growing more feeble and factious. Cromwell, on the other hand, was strengthening the army, and taking every precaution to repress any tendency to factious division among them. Nor were his fears without just cause; for had it not been for the quickness of his penetration, and the boldness of his activity, the whole army would have been thrown into a state of ungovernable phrensy.

Among the independents, who, in general, were for having no ecclesiastical subordination, a set of men grew up called *Levellers*, who disallowed all subordination whatsoever, and declared that they would have no other chaplain, king, or general, but Christ. They declared that all men were equal; that all degrees and ranks should be levelled, and an exact partition of property established in the nation. This ferment spread through the army; and as it was a doctrine well suited to the poverty of the daring soldiery, it promised every day to become more dangerous and fatal. Several petitions were presented, urging the justice of a partition, and threatening vengeance in case of refusing redress.

Cromwell now saw that he was upon the point of losing all the fruits of his former schemes and dangers,

dangers, and dreaded this new faction still more, as they turned his own pretended principles against himself. Thus finding all at stake, he resolved, by one resolute blow, to disperse the faction, or perish in the attempt. Having intimation that the levellers were to meet at a certain place, he unexpectedly appeared before the terrified assembly, at the head of his red regiment, which had been hitherto invincible. He demanded, in the name of God, what these meetings and murmurings meant; he expostulated with them upon the danger and consequence of their precipitate schemes, and desired them immediately to depart. But instead of obeying, they returned an insolent answer; wherefore, rushing on them in a fury, he laid, with his own hands, two of them dead at his feet. His guards dispersing the rest, he caused several of them to be hanged upon the spot; he sent others prisoners to London; and thus dissipated a faction, no otherwise criminal than in having followed his own example.

This action served still more to increase the power of Cromwell in the camp and in the parliament; and while Fairfax was nominally general of the troops, he was invested with all the power. But his authority soon became irresistible, in consequence of a new and unexpected addition of his successes. The Scots, perhaps, ashamed of the reproach of having sold their king, and stimulated farther by the independents, who took all occasions to mortify them, raised an army in his favour, and the chief command was given to the duke of Hamilton; while Langdale, who professed himself at the head of the more bigoted party, who had taken the covenant, marched at the head of his sepa-

rate body, and both invaded the North of England. Their two armies amounted to about twenty thousand men. But Cromwell, at the head of eight thousand of his hardy veterans, feared not to give them battle; he attacked them one after the other, routed and dispersed them, took Hamilton prisoner, and, following his blow, entered Scotland, where he settled the government entirely to his satisfaction. An insurrection in Kent was quelled by Fairfax at the same time with the same ease; and nothing but success attended all this bold usurper's criminal attempts.

During these contentions, the king, who was kept a prisoner at Carisbrook, continued to negotiate with the parliament for settling the unspeakable calamities of the kingdom. The parliament saw no other method of destroying military power, but to depress it by the kingly. Frequent proposals for an accommodation passed between the captive king and the commons; but the great obstacle which had all along stood in the way, still kept them from agreeing. This was the king's refusing to abolish episcopacy, though he consented to destroy the liturgy of the church. However, the treaty was still carried on with vigour, as the parliament had more to apprehend from the designs of their generals than from the attempts of the king; and, for the first time, they seemed in earnest to conclude their negotiations.

But all was now too late; their power was soon totally to expire; for the rebellious army, crowned with success, was returned from the destruction of their enemies, and, sensible of their own power, with furious remonstrances began

began to demand vengeance on the king. At the same time they advanced to Windsor; and sending an officer to seize the king's person, where he was lately sent under confinement, they conveyed him to Hurst-castle, in Hampshire, opposite the Isle of Wight. It was in vain that the parliament complained of this harsh proceeding, as being contrary to their approbation; it was in vain that they began to issue ordinances for a more effectual opposition; they received a message from Cromwell, that he intended paying them a visit the next day with his army, and, in the mean time, ordered them to raise him forty thousand pounds upon the city of London.

The commons, however, though destitute of all hopes of prevailing, had still courage to resist, and attempted, in the face of the whole army, to close their treaty with the king. They had taken into consideration the whole of his concessions; and though they had formerly voted them unsatisfactory, they now renewed the consultation with fresh vigour. After a violent debate, which had lasted three days, it was carried in the king's favour by a majority of a hundred and twenty-nine against eighty-three, that his concessions were a foundation for the houses to proceed upon, in the settlement of the kingdom. This was the last attempt in his favour; for the next day colonel Pride, at the head of two regiments, blockaded the house, and seised in the passage forty-one members of the presbyterian party, and sent them to a low room belonging to the house, that passed by the denomination of Hell. Above a hundred and sixty members more were excluded; and none were allowed

allowed to enter but the most furious and determined of the independents, in all not exceeding sixty. This atrocious invasion of the parliamentary rights, commonly passed by the name of Pride's purge, and the remaining members were called the Rump. These soon voted, that the transactions of the house a few days before were entirely illegal, and that their general's conduct was just and necessary.

Nothing now remained, after the constitution had been destroyed, after the parliament had been ejected, after the religion of the country had been abolished, after the bravest and the best of its subjects had been slain, but to murder the king! This vile parliament, if it now deserves the name, was composed of a medley of the most obscure citizens, and the officers of the army. In this assembly, a committee was appointed to bring in a charge against the king; and, on their report, a vote passed, declaring it treason in a king to levy war against his parliament. It was, therefore, resolved that an High Court of Justice should be appointed to try his majesty for this new invented treason. For form sake they desired the concurrence of the few remaining lords in the other house; but here there was virtue enough left unanimously to reject the horrid proposal.

But the commons were not to be stopped by so small an obstacle. They voted, that the concurrence of the house of lords was unnecessary; they voted that the people were the origin of all just power, a fact which, though true, they never could bring home to themselves. To add to their zeal, a woman of Hertfordshire, illuminated by prophetical visions, desired admittance,

tance, and communicated a revelation which she had received from heaven. She assured them that their measures were consecrated from above, and ratified by the sanction of the Holy Ghost. This intelligence gave them great comfort, and much confirmed them in their present resolutions.

Colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, was commanded to conduct the king from Hurst-castle to Windsor, and from thence to London. His afflicted subjects, who ran to have a sight of their sovereign, were greatly affected at the change that appeared in his face and person. He had allowed his beard to grow; his hair was become venerably grey, rather by the pressure of anxiety than the hand of time; while the rest of his apparel bore the marks of misfortune and decay. Thus he stood a solitary figure of majesty in distress, which even his adversaries could not behold without reverence and compassion. He had been long attended only by an old decrepid servant, whose name was sir Philip Warwick, who could only deplore his master's fate, without being able to revenge his cause. All the exterior symbols of sovereignty were now withdrawn; and his new attendants had orders to serve him without ceremony. The duke of Hamilton, who was reserved for the same punishment with his master, having leave to take a last farewell as he departed from Windsor, threw himself at the king's feet, crying out, "My dear master!" The unhappy monarch raised him up, and embracing him tenderly, replied, while the tears ran down his cheeks, "I have indeed been a dear master to you." These were severe distresses; however, he could not

not be persuaded that his adversaries would bring him to a formal trial; but he every moment expected to be dispatched by private assassination.

From the sixth to the twentieth of January, was spent in making preparations for his extraordinary trial. The court of justice consisted of a hundred and thirty-three persons named by the commons; but of these never above seventy met upon the trial. The members were chiefly composed of the chief officers of the army, most of them of very mean birth, together with some of the lower house, and a few citizens of London. Bradshaw, a lawyer, was chosen president; Coke was appointed solicitor for the people of England; Dorislaus, Steele, and Aske, were named assistants. The court sat in Westminster-hall.

The king was now conducted from Windsor to St. James's, and the next day was brought before the high-court to take his trial. While the crier was calling over the names of the commissioners for trying him, no body answering for lord Fairfax, a female voice from the gallery was heard to cry out, "He has more wit than "to be here." When the impeachment was read in the name of the people of England, the same voice exclaimed, "No, nor a tenth part "of them." Axtel, the officer who guarded the court, giving orders to fire into the box from whence the voice proceeded, it was discovered that these bold answers came from the lady Fairfax, who alone had courage to condemn their proceedings.

When the king was brought forward before the court, he was conducted by the mace-bearer to a chair placed within the bar. Though long detained a prisoner, and now produced as a criminal,

minal, he still sustained the dignity of a king; he surveyed the members of the court with an intrepid haughty air; and, without moving his hat, sat down, while the members also were covered. His charge was then read by the solicitor, accusing him of having been the cause of all the bloodshed which followed since the commencement of the war; at that part of the charge he could not suppress a smile of contempt and indignation. After the charge was finished, Bradshaw directed his discourse to the king, and told him that the court expected his answer.

The king with great temper entered upon his defence, by declining the authority of the court. He represented, that having been engaged in treaty with his two houses of parliament, and having finished almost every article, he expected a different treatment from that he now received. He perceived, he said, no appearance of an upper house, which was necessary to constitute a just tribunal. That he was himself the king and fountain of law, and consequently could not be tried by laws to which he had never given his assent; that having been intrusted with the liberties of the people, he would not now betray them, by recognising a power founded in usurpation; that he was willing before a proper tribunal to enter into the particulars of his defence; but that before them he must decline any apology for his innocence, lest he should be considered as the betrayer of, and not a martyr for, the constitution.

Bradshaw, in order to support the authority of the court, insisted that they had received their power from the people, the source of all right. He

He pressed the prisoner not to decline the authority of the court, that was delegated by the commons of England, and interrupted and over-ruled the king in his attempts to reply.

In this manner the king was three times produced before the court, and as often persisted in declining its jurisdiction. The fourth and last time he was brought before this self-created court, as he was proceeding thither he was insulted by the soldiers and the mob, who exclaimed, "Justice! justice! execution! execution!" but he continued undaunted. His judges having now examined some witnesses, by whom it was proved that the king had appeared in arms against the forces commissioned by parliament, they pronounced sentence against him. He seemed very anxious at this time to be admitted to a conference with the two houses; and it was supposed that he intended to resign the crown to his son; but the court refused compliance, and considered his request as an artifice to delay justice.

The conduct of the king, under all these instances of low-bred malice, was great, firm, and equal; in going through the hall from this execrable tribunal, the soldiers and rabble were again instigated to cry out justice and execution. They reviled him with the most bitter reproaches. Among other insults, one miscreant presumed to spit in the face of his sovereign. He patiently bore their insolence. "Poor souls," cried he, "they would treat their generals in the same manner for six-pence." Those of the populace, who still retained the feelings of humanity, expressed their sorrow in sighs and tears. A soldier, more compassionate than the rest, could not help

help imploring a blessing upon his royal head. An officer overhearing him, struck the honest centinel to the ground before the king, who could not help saying, that the punishment exceeded the offence.

At his return to Whitehall, he desired the permission of the house to see his children, and to be attended in his private devotions by doctor Juxon, late bishop of London. These requests were granted, and also three days to prepare for the execution of the sentence. All that remained of his family now in England were the princess Elizabeth, and the duke of Gloucester, a child of about three years of age. After many seasonable and sensible exhortations to his daughter, he took his little son in his arms, and embracing him, "My child," said he, "they will cut off thy "father's head, yes they will cut off my head, "and make thee a king. But mark what I say; "thou must not be a king as long as thy brothers "Charles and James are alive. They will cut "off their heads when they can take them, and "thy head too they will cut off at last, and there-"fore I charge thee do not be made a king by "them." The child, bursting into tears, replied, "I will be torn in pieces first."

Every night, during the interval between his sentence and execution, the king slept sound as usual, though the noise of the workmen, employed in framing the scaffold, continually resounded in his ears. The fatal morning being at last arrived, he rose early, and calling one of his attendants, he bade him employ more than usual care in dressing him, and preparing him for so great and joyful a solemnity. The street before Whitehall was the place destined for his

execu-

execution; for it was intended that this should increase the severity of his punishment. He was led through the Banqueting-house to the scaffold adjoining to that edifice, attended by his friend and servant bishop Juxon, a man endowed with the same mild and steady virtues with his master. The scaffold, which was covered with black, was guarded by a regiment of soldiers under the command of colonel Tomlinson, and on it were to be seen the block, the axe, and two executioners in masques. The people in great crowds stood at a greater distance, in dreadful expectation of the event. The king surveyed all these solemn preparations with calm composure; and as he could not expect to be heard by the people at a distance, he addressed himself to the few persons who stood round him. He there justified his own innocence in the late fatal wars; and observed, that he had not taken arms till after the parliament had shown him the example; that he had no other object in his warlike preparations than to preserve that authority entire which had been transmitted to him by his ancestors; but, though innocent towards his people, he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eyes of his Maker. He owned that he was justly punished for having consented to the execution of an unjust sentence upon the earl of Strafford. He forgave all his enemies, exhorted the people to return to their obedience, and acknowledge his son as his successor, and signified his attachment to the protestant religion as professed in the church of England. So strong was the impression his dying words made upon the few who could hear him, that colonel Tomlinson himself,

to

to whose care he had been committed, acknowledged himself a convert.

While he was preparing himself for the block, bishop Juxon called out to him: "There is, "sir, but one stage more, which, though tur- "bulent and troublesome, is yet a very short "one. It will soon carry you a great way: "it will carry you from earth to heaven; and "there you shall find, to your great joy, the prize "to which you hasten—a crown of glory." "I "go," replied the king, "from a corruptible to "an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance "can have place." "You exchange," replied the bishop, "a temporal for an eternal crown, a good exchange." Charles, having taken off his cloak, delivered his George to the prelate, pronouncing the word "Remember." Then he laid his neck on the block, and stretching out his hands as a signal, one of the executioners severed his head from his body at a blow, while the other, holding it up, exclaimed, "This is the head of a traitor!" The spectators testified their horror at that sad spectacle in sighs, tears, and lamentations; the tide of their duty and affection began to return, and each blamed himself either with active disloyalty to his king, or a passive compliance with his destroyers. The very pulpits, that used to resound with insolence and sedition, were now bedewed with tears of unfeigned repentance; and all united in their detestation of those dark hypocrites, who, to satisfy their own enmity, involved a whole nation in the guilt of treason.

Charles was executed in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign. He was of a middling stature, robust, and well proportioned. His visage was pleasing, but melancholy; Jan. 30, 1649.

and it is probable that the continual troubles in which he was involved might have made that impression on his countenance. As for his character, the reader will deduce it with more precision and satisfaction to himself from the detail of his conduct, than from any summary given of it by the historian. It will suffice to say, that all his faults seem to have arisen from the error of his education; while all his virtues, and he possessed many, were the genuine offspring of his heart. He lived at a time when the spirit of the constitution was at variance with the genius of the people; and governing by old rules and precedents, instead of accommodating himself to the changes of the times, he fell, and drew down, as he sunk, the constitution in ruins round him. Many kings before him expired by treasons or assassinations; but never, since the times of Agis the Lacedæmonian, was there any other sacrificed by his subjects with all the formalities of justice. Many were the miseries sustained by the nation in bringing this monarch to the block; and more were yet to be endured previous to the settlement of the constitution; yet these struggles in the end were productive of domestic happiness and security; the laws became more precise, the monarch's privileges better ascertained, and the subject's duty better delineated; all became more peaceable, as if a previous fermentation in the constitution was necessary for its subsequent refinement.

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